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The Shape of Things

CONCENTRATED IN AIRPORTS JUST ACROSS the Channel, the German air force is doing its worst to make good Hitler's recent threat to raze the enemy cities to the ground. Night after night the British capital has withstood shattering blows, but the R. A. F. continues to hit back at Berlin, Hamburg, and German industrial centers. In London no attempt is being made to minimize the damage. Utilities, docks, and communications have received heavy blows, along with churches, museums, and thousands of civilian homes. Hundreds have been killed and thousands injured, but considering London's enormous population the casualties, so far, appear comparatively light. The worst effect of the raids, perhaps, is the nervous strain and loss of sleep. Yet London, if bloody, is unbowed and carries on. Whether Germans are taking the British raids with equal fortitude we do not know, for correspondents in Berlin are far more restricted both in their movements and in their reporting than those in London. Meanwhile the British navy has shown that its claim to control the Mediterranean is no idle boast. Large reinforcements for both army and navy in the Near East have arrived safely at Alexandria after passing almost within sight of the Italian coast. Italy, on the other hand, is encountering increasing difficulties in maintaining communications with Libya.

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KING CAROL'S HEADLONG FLIGHT FROM THE pursuing bullets of the Iron Guard marks the formal end of independent Rumania. Transylvania is in the process of occupation by Hungarian troops; southern Dobrudja has been ceded to Bulgaria; Bessarabia and northern Bukovina are in Soviet hands. By these cessions Rumania is reduced to approximately two-thirds of its original size. This is perhaps not so serious, since the majority of the residents in the ceded areas were admittedly not Rumanian. Nor would the loss of Carol under ordinary circumstances be an irreparable blow. Carol was a vain, autocratic, and often irresponsible monarch. But in the last few years he had struggled manfully to prevent his country from falling under Nazi domination. About all that can be said for the new dictator, General Antonescu, is that he is not a member of the Iron Guard. But Germany is said to prefer him to the Iron Guard because it believes that he stands a better chance of being able to put Rumania back on its feet economically. His role in this respect is to be identical with that of Pétain in France, but the recent disturbances suggest that Rumania's troubles are just beginning.

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THE BURKE-WADSWORTH CONSCRIPTION BILL has been passed by the House and gone to conference. Probably by the time this issue of *The Nation* reaches the newsstands the measure will have been sent to the White House, for strong Senate opposition is expected to kill the Fish amendment, which postpones operation of the draft for sixty days in order to test the efficacy of a drive for volunteers. This proposal, which was approved by a narrow majority of the House, seems to us a pernicious piece of politics designed to delay the actual drafting of men until after the elections. An elaborate recruiting drive has in fact been going on since last May, and while it has speeded up the flow of recruits, the numbers that have come forward have been far short of what is needed. A further intensification of this campaign can hardly be achieved without a highly undesirable amount of ballyhoo, and even then it will almost certainly fail to bring in the required quota. We have before expressed the view that in the present emergency the selective draft is the fairest, most democratic, and most efficient method of obtaining the manpower necessary for our defenses, and we trust that Congress, on reconsideration, will not permit political calculations to cause a delay.

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BUSINESS CONTINUES TO DEMONSTRATE ITS intention to make as much as it can out of defense and pay as little as it can manage in taxes. The new excess-profits tax bill has grown even more tangled than before in the hands of the Senate Finance Committee, and all one can say of it with assurance is that it is even less a

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bill to tax excess profits than it was. It wasn't much of one to start with. A tax on excess profits was a political necessity for the Administration to counterbalance the repeal of profit limits on defense contracts. But as the bill now stands, it imposes as small a tax as possible on excess profits from defense, and increases normal corporate income taxes in order that the yield will not seem too ridiculously small. The ordinary business man would pay a higher tax to cover up the small taxes imposed on the defense profiteers. In the Finance Committee hearings the Defense Commission and the War and Navy departments have again shown themselves anxious to act as lobbyists and spokesmen for business. What seems to be worrying them now is a "joker"—the term is theirs not ours—by which the government would have some right to decide what companies are to do with new defense facilities paid for out of the new five-year amortization privileges. Since indirectly the cost would be met largely by the Treasury, we see nothing unreasonable in this provision.

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DESPITE BIG PROFITS AND LOW TAXES ON defense contracts, industry is bitter in its opposition to any possible "conscription" of plants for defense purposes. We put quotation marks around the word "conscription" because the Russell-Overton amendment, like the milder Smith amendment in the Senate, would let the courts fix fair compensation for plants taken over by the government. An army conscript cannot apply to the courts after the war is over for an order requiring the government to pay the "fair value" of his services. Nor does he have any excess profits from his $21-a-month wage on which to pay taxes. No efficient defense program is possible unless the government is given some power to force recalcitrant or greedy industries into line, and as Walter Lippmann was courageous enough to point out, this power in defense is merely the counterpart of the government's ancient and traditional power of condemnation for public purposes. Former Congressman J. Mayhew Wainwright in a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune* pointed out that Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover favored some method of "conscripting" industry in war time, and that at the request of Congress Hoover in 1930 appointed a commission to study the problem. The commission favored giving the government power to conscript industry for war purposes. But the nonsense in the press about the "totalitarian" character of the Russell-Overton amendment continues.

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LAST WEEK'S SHARP RISE IN COMMODITY prices suggests the beginning of the long-predicted war inflation. The prices of raw materials have been gradually moving upward for several weeks. But after Labor Day there was a sudden spurt which affected many leading commodities. Copper prices were advanced one-half cent a pound. Zinc moved up 35 points in one day. Silk, which had long been in the doldrums as a result of the success of nylon, rose sharply. The prices of leather, domestic sugar, cotton cloth, and rubber also mounted. So far the recent rise in commodity prices has not affected the retail prices paid by the average consumer. Food costs, however, are about 10 per cent higher than a year ago. The increase in the price of meat has been particularly striking—amounting in some cases to as much as 30 per cent. Since meat shipments have been fully as large this year as last, the rise in price is attributed to increased demand—a distinctly inflationary phenomenon. In the case of metals and many other raw materials, the jump in prices is clearly the result of the added demand occasioned by British war purchases and domestic defense requirements. As the expenditures for defense actually get under way, this demand is bound to increase. Within a few months we may again be hearing complaints about the high cost of living. When that stage has been reached, it is very difficult to put on the brakes. But the government does have the technical weapons to curb inflation at this stage. The danger is that it may hesitate to use them in an election year.

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DEVELOPMENTS IN MEXICO HAVE BECOME increasingly grave since the receipt of the article by Ralph Bates which appears elsewhere in this issue. Meeting in a clandestine Congress, the followers of General Almazán have proclaimed him the "legally" elected President. Safe in Baltimore, Almazán has declared that he will return to Mexico "at the proper time" to claim the Presidency. These two actions can mean only one thing—an effort on the part of the Almazanistas to seize power by force if conditions are at all favorable for a revolt. The consistent anti-government tone of the American press in referring to Mexico suggests that Almazán must have influential backing on this side of the Rio Grande. In addition to the support of the American oil interests, Almazán, according to Mr. Bates, has that of the Nazis. His following within Mexico, however, is apparently small. To succeed in a revolt he must have, as Franco did, active and substantial foreign aid. The position of the United States is almost identical with that occupied by France in relation to Spain in 1936. Support of the legitimate government in Mexico will make a revolt impossible. Lack of it may lead to chaos.

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THE INVASION OF INDO-CHINA BY JAPAN, reported to be scheduled for September 6, has been put off as a result of a deal between the Vichy government and the local Japanese military commander. Under the

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terms of the deal Japanese troops are to be given a right of way through Indo-China to attack China's back door in Yunnan; the Chinese have rushed troops to the Yunnan border in anticipation of such a move. If the Japanese gain even a foothold in China's southwest, they will be in a position to seal not only the trade routes through Indo-China but the Burma road as well. The surrender of the Vichy government tended to nullify the effect of Secretary Hull's excellent statement warning Japan to keep its hands off Indo-China. But there is still a chance that the supporters of de Gaulle, said to be strong in Indo-China, may repudiate the Vichy agreement and defend the colony in cooperation with Great Britain. In such an event the United States would be called upon to back up its words of warning with deeds. A complete embargo on trade with Japan, utilizing the existing licensing provisions, would greatly cripple Japan's striking power and give the French, with British and Chinese aid, a fair chance to defend themselves.

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IN AN ARTICLE APPEARING ELSEWHERE IN this issue Charles E. Noyes examines our economic system in the light of the theory that, by virtue of modern technology, "expansion of production can always be faster than any expansion of demand which is conceivable in a conventional capitalist system." If production were given free rein it could only be disposed of by constant price reductions which would deprive industry of the profit motive. Hence, in order to meet these conditions, the managers of industry strive to create by artificial means those conditions of scarcity on which the nineteenth-century theory of a free-market economy was based. Yet in so doing they inevitably slow up the machine and produce the intolerable combination of idle workers and idle capital. With the broad outline of this thesis the editors of *The Nation* do not quarrel. We cannot indorse, however, Mr. Noyes's second point—that Nazi state planning has "solved the problems of capital investment, production, and distribution without regard for traditional economic laws." It is true that the Nazis have achieved practically a 100 per cent mobilization of resources, but this has been done by putting the whole German nation on something like a subsistence basis and diverting all surplus production to war purposes. It does not follow that the same methods would be equally successful when employed in an attempt to raise living standards, for this effort would involve a nice balance between production for immediate consumption and production for capital purposes—a balance unobtainable by the corner-cutting methods applicable to a single-minded drive to boost output of armaments. We think that Mr. Noyes's thesis is provocative, nevertheless, and plan to have it more thoroughly discussed by competent authorities in forthcoming issues.

WITH THE DEATH OF LILLIAN D. WALD THIS country lost one of its most useful citizens. A list of her achievements reads like a chart of American social progress during the past half-century. Originator and founder of the visiting-nurse system, she made Henry Street Settlement a mecca for forward-looking social workers from all parts of the world. It was she who first conceived the idea of a Children's Bureau in the federal government. Through most of her seventy-three years she fought unswervingly against injustice and supported all progressive causes. She was in the forefront in the struggle for legislation against sweatshops, child labor, and slums. She pitted her strength against war and against racial and religious intolerance of all kinds. And yet through it all she retained a simple dignity, a sense of humor, and a capacity for friendship that gained her the love and respect even of those who did not share her passion for humanity. Her death is an irreparable loss, but her influence on thousands of the living gives assurance that her work will go on.

Isolationist Hysterics

AT LAST the wish of the great majority of Americans to give Britain all possible aid "short of war" has found tangible expression in the deal to exchange fifty over-age destroyers for leases of naval and seaplane bases in a number of Caribbean islands. There are many of us who believe that American interests would have been well served had these ships been handed over without any quid pro quo, considering the fact that the whole of our immense defense program is predicated on the danger to this country growing out of a British defeat. Nevertheless, the acquisition of a series of positions which will add enormously to the security of our Atlantic and Caribbean coasts is a move for which the President deserves the heartiest applause. And, in fact, most commentators on the deal have expressed approval, although in too many cases partisan considerations have made it rather grudging.

There is a vocal minority, however, whose denunciations of this effort to strengthen American defenses have been wildly hysterical. We can afford to smile when the *Daily Worker* accuses the President of planning "a blackout of constitutional democracy," for we know that good Communists divide their energies between proving that Stalin is not a dictator and asserting that Roosevelt is one. But it is more serious when a newspaper with the reputation of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* comes out with the charge that the President has "committed an act of war" and has become "America's first dictator." We would remind the editors of the *Post-Dispatch* that the first act of any genuine dictator is to silence the opposition press, and that if a dictatorship really controlled this

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country, they would have had no chance to publish and broadcast their diatribe.

The accusation that Mr. Roosevelt has committed an act of war is easily disposed of. The sale of the destroyers would only bring this country into the war if the Axis powers chose to regard it as a *casus belli.* And that, so long as Britain is undefeated, is unthinkable, since their whole policy, like that of the *Post-Dispatch,* is to keep America as isolated from European affairs as possible. Actually German and Italian comment on the deal is designed to "prove" that it really represents a setback for Britain. Of course, it may be argued that if and when Germany is victorious it will call us to account for our aid to Britain. But even the most casual student of politics is aware by now that Germany never lacks an excuse for aggression. If Hitler thinks his interests will be served by attacking us, attacked we shall be no matter what we have done to appease or to annoy. The only way out would be to submit to whatever plans he might have for our future, and surely even the *Post-Dispatch* wouldn't carry appeasement to those lengths.

As it has long advocated the acquisition of Caribbean bases, the *Post-Dispatch* is rather hard put to criticize this aspect of the deal. But it rises to the occasion with the assertion that leases are valueless and only outright sovereignty will serve America's purposes. "What good will these leases be," it whimpers, "if Hitler should acquire title to these islands by right of conquest?" On this point it has been magnificently answered by the St. Louis *Star-Times,* which comments: "There you have the whipped-dog attitude that would reduce the United States to the status of Denmark, without Denmark's cruel necessity. When Hitler acquires Newfoundland, Bermuda, and the Bahamas, the United States will be at war with Hitler in twenty-four hours, or will be his vassal in as many weeks."

Much more numerous than the all-out opponents of the President's latest defense move are the critics who favor the end but attack the means. Mr. Willkie set the tone when he commented that while the country will undoubtedly approve of the program, "it is regrettable that the President did not deem it necessary in connection with this proposal to secure the approval of Congress or permit public discussion prior to adoption." As to the second point, there has been no lack of public discussion of the proposal to sell the destroyers, and a Gallup poll taken on the question in early August showed that 60 per cent of those voting favored a sale. There is every reason to suppose that a poll taken now, when the nature of the bargain is known, would result in an even bigger majority.

The constitutional justification for the President's action without the prior consent of Congress is his position as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In this capacity it is his right and duty to take the necessary steps to secure the defense of the country, and those who agree that the deal with Britain has increased our security are in a poor position to criticize his methods. We can be sure that had he neglected such an opportunity Republican headquarters would have held him strictly to account.

The practical justification for ignoring Congress was the necessity for speed. We have had too many examples lately of the tendency of Capitol Hill to stall on urgent measures. The rules of the Senate, which may be democratic in intent but are certainly no instrument of democratic efficiency, permit a small minority to delay action in a way incompatible with public interest in times of emergency. We should feel grateful to the President that under these circumstances he has not hesitated to exercise his powers under existing law. According to orthodox notions of clever politics it would have been smarter for him to sit on the fence and leave the responsibility to Congress. Mr. Willkie is being lavishly commended for speaking bold but impolitic words. Mr. Roosevelt, we think, deserves still more credit for bold actions. If the voters think that in taking them he has exceeded his powers and moved toward dictatorship, they have their chance to remove him in November.

Willkie and Appeasement

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HENRY WALLACE did not say that Willkie favored appeasement. He said that Roosevelt was the man Hitler wanted to see defeated; he said, "Powerful elements in our opposition will, if the Republicans come into power, force us to make one economic concession after another to the totalitarian countries. These appeasers will have their way if the Republicans win, because they have contributed largely, both politically and financially, to the Republican cause." Willkie answered that Wallace was "100 per cent wrong." Later on he expanded that statement by saying that he was absolutely opposed to appeasement of any sort.

I believe Willkie means what he says. I see no reason to doubt his hatred for everything Hitler represents. He is a super-Babbitt with all the good and bad qualities of the breed somewhat magnified. Disliking dictators is one of the good qualities. He dislikes native fascists, too, and has vigorously repulsed the advances of such would-be supporters as Father Coughlin and Joe McWilliams.

But just the same, Wallace is right. The election of Willkie will be a triumph for the appeasers. It will encourage and strengthen the various domestic Führers. These groups back Willkie because their chief purpose is to defeat Roosevelt. If Willkie is elected he will not deliberately forward their claims, but they will gain ground politically and be able to press their claims. The

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more respectable among them will, as Wallace says, be in a position to force an appeasement policy on the country. They represent a large and important element in Willkie's business support. Willkie, politically speaking, is their man. They nominated him, and if he is elected, it will be with their votes and their money.

These facts have been expressed in figures by *Fortune* in a Forum of Executive Opinion appearing in the current issue. *Fortune* questioned 15,000 of "the country's high executives" on several issues of immediate public interest. Perhaps it isn't surprising to find that these business men, by more than five to one, think Willkie could handle our foreign relations better than Roosevelt, or that 91 per cent of them believe Willkie would do a better job on preparedness and industrial mobilization. What is surprising and painfully revealing is their vote on appeasement. More than a third of the executives polled would do "as much" business "as possible" with an economic bloc dominated by Hitler; while another 50 per cent would "take what came our way" or would let it "depend on circumstances"—in other words, follow an opportunist policy. Taken together these groups make a grand total of 83.3 per cent of the executives polled. Many of them know what this opinion implies; 49.4 per cent think that, if Hitler wins, American business "will have to be reorganized in a manner resembling the totalitarians," at least in the foreign-trade field; 14.1 per cent believe we must go totalitarian in our domestic economic life as well. The vote on Japan shows a total of 75 per cent in favor either of appeasement or of "letting nature take its course." The appeasers divide 40 per cent to 35 per cent between negotiating a new trade treaty and recognizing Japan's sphere of influence.

When *Fortune* cross-tabulates the political-preference vote with the Nazi-appeasement vote, the result substantiates Wallace and refutes Willkie. Of those who prefer Willkie to Roosevelt on foreign policy, 69.6 per cent favor as much trade as possible with a German Europe; while this position is taken by only 9.2 per cent of those who support Roosevelt. Mr. Willkie should ponder these figures. He can repudiate the support of the Coughlinites and the violent fringe of the appeasement party; but he cannot repudiate its respectable, wealthy, and powerful rank and file. He cannot repudiate 69 per cent of 15,000 representative "high executives." He may think he can, but if so he will find himself a disappointed man in case he is elected President.

But it looks less and less as if Wendell Willkie were going to be elected President. We are witnessing the strange spectacle of a candidate surrounded by admiring friends who wonder out loud whether his campaign has bogged down for good or whether he can still show some signs of life on the home stretch. *Time,* which with *Fortune* has been looked upon as one of the organizers of the Willkie crusade, published last week a cold-blooded appraisal of his chances. It reported a growing belief among Republican politicians that "maybe Willkie was only a fatter, louder Alf Landon." They think he has slighted the regular party workers and favored the amateurs; and they believe that elections are won in the wards and precincts. The article also reports Willkie's personal confidence in his own methods, but it leaves the reader wondering if *Time* doesn't think Willkie would have done better to pay more attention to the boys in the back room and less to Time, Inc., executives on leave to help elect Willkie.

Walter Lippmann has been saying harsh words about Willkie's methods. Hugh Johnson has been attacking Willkie for not finding real issues with which to belabor Roosevelt. And the best Willkie's active supporters can offer is the hope that the campaign may come to life when Willkie's tour gets under way. And so it may.

Willkie is a fighter, and if he feels the tide running against him he will swim hard. But if he is to make headway he will have to please somebody. One of Willkie's chief troubles to date is painfully simple. He has picked the unpopular side of almost every issue and then used loud and unconvincing language to support it. He attacked the Russell-Overton amendment as an attempt to "sovietize" American industry and as a "cheap political proposal." But whatever its final form, a measure permitting the government to take over industries which refuse to cooperate in the defense program will certainly be put through. And it will be put through because the people demand it. If Willkie attacked the amendment for political reasons, he guessed disastrously wrong; if he attacked it on principle he is a brave man.

His opposition to the "method" of transferring destroyers to Britain was equally vehement, and it fell equally flat. He might have won isolationist approval by opposing the whole move. It was a dramatic move which may have momentous consequences; and its legality was at least arguable. But Willkie favored giving the destroyers to Britain and approved the acquisition of bases by the United States. So he was left with a minor issue to fulminate over: the question whether the President was right or wrong in putting through the deal without referring it to Congress. His violent assertion that the President was wrong has gained only the feeblest support even among his own followers. Wendell Willkie has forsaken the politicians in order to launch a popular crusade. He is on his own as few candidates have ever been. Business support is not enough to elect him. He must depend for votes on his own power and magnetism and capacity to dramatize the desires of the people. Crusades are not led to victory on puny differences over method and manner. Somewhere, somehow Mr. Willkie will have to find an issue which is at once important and popular. He can't win without one.

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Rumania's New Versailles

BY LOUIS FISCHER

HITLER has imposed a Versailles on Rumania. It is much more important than appears at first glance. Since the Reichswehr will occupy Rumania, the German-Russian frontier now extends all the way from Memel on the Baltic Sea to the delta of the Danube near the Black Sea. If Moscow accepts the new situation passively, Soviet expansion in the Balkans is at an end for the present. A Teuton army stands athwart the advance of the great Slav state in the direction of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Straits. Germany can now put submarines, gunboats, and torpedo boats on the Black Sea. This will make Russia and Turkey more nervous and should lead them to repair the damage done to their relations since Stalin started on his career of grab.

A huge German force also separates Russia from the area in which Italy dreams of aggrandizement. This was undoubtedly Mussolini's chief interest in the Vienna award; not the satisfaction of Hungary's unjustified revisionist aspirations. In past weeks Rome has been thundering against bolshevism once more. Greece and Yugoslavia, therefore, have reason to be worried. If within two or three weeks the much-heralded invasion of England does not take place, millions of German and Italian soldiers will be all dressed up with no place to go this winter. This cannot conduce to quiet sleep in the high quarters of Moscow, the Balkans, Turkey, and the eastern Mediterranean.

The Soviet government scents danger from Germany, but for that reason it must be all the more circumspect and pro-German on the surface—though pro-British at heart. Russia's safety now, as always, rests on a British victory and a German collapse. Stalin miscalculated. He did not know how rotten France was. He thought war would exhaust the Reichswehr before it could turn its attention toward Russia. But today it stands in full strength on the Soviet frontier.

Can Moscow shift to the British side? Not now. But it will want to weight the scales against Germany. The problem is how to do it. Much depends on what the Axis powers decide to do. If Italy invades Greece, Moscow could give the green light to Turkey to help Greece. Turkey does not need much encouragement to fight Italy. To date, Moscow tactics have paralyzed Turkish military efforts in behalf of the Allies. As a precaution, and to encourage the fighting spirit of Greece, Turkey, and Egypt, Great Britain has in recent weeks almost doubled the strength of its large fleet in the waters between Italy and Palestine. These added craft sailed blithely from Gibraltar under Italy's foot (and nose) without being molested. Italy's naval strategy, to date, has varied from hit-and-run to just run.

Stalin's canny eye is also glued on Washington. If Britain holds out and receives more help from the United States, the Soviet government will feel encouraged to conduct a more independent foreign policy. I suspect that Joseph Stalin is now as happy as William Allen White is to see those fifty United States destroyers sold to the British navy. The British navy is also becoming Russia's second line of defense.

With the exception of the United States, whose sporting spirit and realistic estimate of selfish interests have made it more pro-Ally as the Allies suffered reverses, the so-called neutrals fix their policy according to their views on who will win the war. Italy thought the war was won in June. Therefore it came in. Russia's acts will depend on whether England or Germany seems to be on top.

Most of the arguments that interest intellectuals will be settled on the battlefields. For people who care for principle and right and who have seen the murder in Europe during the last year, the question whether Stalin was warranted in signing with Hitler has already been settled. For the cynical remainder the answer will be read in the skies over Britain and Germany.

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Nazi Challenge to Democracy

BY CHARLES E. NOYES

WHEN Hitler came to power in Germany, orthodox economists predicted that his crazy economic system would collapse of its own weight, and Marxists said that the Reich would be Communist within a year. Instead, Germany produced a war machine which is one of the industrial miracles of history, in a period when the capitalist democracies were staggering along through chronic depression and the Russian form of government was becoming year by year less distinguishable from National Socialism. Former devotees of the economic interpretation of history are now producing personal, psychological, and even military explanations of German success. Their efforts might be more constructive if they would reexamine some of their pet economic theories.

The major economic and technical developments of the twentieth century have been the use of mass-production methods in industry, a rapid increase in the utilization of mechanical power, and a decrement in population growth. If the decay of democratic capitalism and the rise of totalitarianism are more than a weird series of accidents, they should have some close relationship to these three basic changes.

The revolutionary impact of modern technology has been at least partially recognized by such diverse men as Thorstein Veblen, Herbert Hoover, Howard Scott, and a number of the New Dealers. But all of them have quite naturally considered the problem of readjusting society to these changes as something which we could work out in our own good time. Marxists were preoccupied with the class struggle, and not even Spengler or Pareto foresaw the sudden growth of a new kind of economic and political system which would challenge both democratic capitalism and Marxian socialism with tremendous military power.

The regimentation which exists in Germany, Russia, and Italy is neither a product of the character of the people nor a system arbitrarily imposed by the whim of authority. The same forces have been tending toward regimentation in the United States even longer than in Europe. This tendency seems inevitably to accompany the rationalization of industry through centralized financial control and large-scale producing units. It is almost a commonplace that no man can work for Ford, or General Motors, or United States Steel, without having a large part of his life controlled by decisions in which he has no part whatever.

Together with regimentation of individual workers, technological changes and the decline in population growth have produced a fundamental change in the usage of capital by eliminating scarcity value. For all practical purposes the mass-production industries—perhaps also agriculture and some others—are already operating in an economy of abundance. This fact should not be obscured by the underconsumption that is still widespread. National and world production are less than enough to provide a universally satisfactory standard of living, but *the expansion of production can always be faster than any expansion of demand which is conceivable in a conventional capitalist system.*

All the inflationary programs of the New Deal—and of pre-war England and France—failed to produce the symptoms of inflation because they never succeeded in putting money into the hands of consumers faster than food and goods could be produced to meet the resulting demand. And while investment in new capital goods has fallen off during the last ten years, potential productive capacity has been steadily increased by new technological discoveries. As a result, no business man can look forward to the large profits which come only from scarcity unless he can arrange an artificial monopoly. Even that prospect is dangerous in most cases because monopolies stimulate the invention of substitute products, and consumption habits are ever more easily shifted from one field to another. It is natural and inevitable that the current ideal among all right-thinking business men is to "stabilize" prices throughout each industry. In some cases they have been successful, enough so to attract the attention of Thurman Arnold; but the impossibility of achieving such a result throughout the whole economic system in a democracy is demonstrated by the failure of the NRA and by prevailing low interest rates and lack of new investment.

END OF THE FREE MARKET

The classical system of capitalism and the free market are doomed in a world of potential abundance. Industrial management, distributors, and farmers may charge a fee for their services, but there can be no considerable spread between cost and selling price when goods have no scarcity value in relation to effective demand. There are likely to be losses as often as profits, and there is virtually nothing the producer can do about it without changing the system.

Superficially, this effect of potential abundance seems to resemble the decay of capitalism which was predicted

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by Marx. It is true that in some cases excessive profits have accentuated depression by reducing consumption. But the class struggle takes on a very different aspect in a world of possible plenty, and the labor theory of value must be drastically modified in a world where human strength is multiplied a thousand times by mechanical power. Ownership of the means of production ceases to have vital importance when the problem is not to exploit but to coordinate the means of production. The amount subtracted from consuming power by profit is relatively unimportant when the total national income of a country like the United States can fluctuate within ten years from $81,000,000,000 down to $40,000,000,000 and back up to $71,000,000,000. The Marxian analysis may have been correct enough at the time it was made, but technological change caught up with capitalism long before the proletarian revolution appeared as a serious threat in any great industrial country. Fundamentally, the Marxian proletarian revolution was conceived as a struggle for the means of subsistence in a world of scarcity; it is not an inevitable struggle in a world which could produce comfort for the many and huge profits for the few simultaneously, nor is it a particularly valuable conception for the solution of contemporary problems of production and distribution. Even in the United States, private ownership of the means of production has been largely divorced from power. Even in Russia, public ownership of the means of production has not prevented the concentration of power.

The safeguard for freedom which is already weakened and is being destroyed by technological change is the free market, the system of exchange which can operate only in a system of relative scarcity. The basic position of the free market in earlier democratic theory is often forgotten by twentieth-century liberals, Marxists, and social planners. But to Jefferson and Hamilton alike, political freedom needed to be supplemented and implemented by guaranteeing the right of every individual to buy and sell at whatever prices he could obtain, to accumulate property and acquire debts, to exchange his labor, his skill, or his cleverness for the most attractive rewards obtainable in a strictly competitive economy. And so long as there was active competition for goods, labor, skill, and services, individual economic liberty did in fact exist. The rewards for labor may have been unduly small, and the rewards for cleverness or previously accumulated capital unduly large, but that seemed to be no more than an accident of relative scarcity in the market, which did not destroy the principle of freedom.

What no one noticed, because no other condition could be seriously imagined, was that scarcity itself provided the economic basic for this freedom. During most of the nineteenth century, countries with growing industries were able to use all of the labor, all of the capital, and all of the goods which could be obtained. There were depressions when the unplanned expansion of the economy was temporarily disrupted by overdevelopment in a few directions—such as railroad building—or by external forces like war or crop failure; but each depression was succeeded by a period of greater prosperity, and the economic organization of capitalist democratic society seemed to be justified by a steady increase in total national and per capita wealth. The theories of classical liberal economics were generally accepted as a rationalization of what was actually happening. Few people questioned their assumption of an apparently limitless growth of the world's free markets. The automatic functioning of prices, savings, and investment seemed to be a genuinely democratic way of allocating the world's productive energies. The proportion of workers who were not free to make a change was too small to arouse general indignation except in a few cities during hard times.

The change in this picture was not the result of a sharpening of the class struggle, for real wages tended to go up almost everywhere in the world. The change was brought about by technological advance in a society which was unable to assimilate expanding productive capacity by increasing its consumption with equal speed. The result was chronic unemployment, which appeared in spots early in the twentieth century and became endemic after the first World War. And the destructive force was not the misery of the unemployed but the loss of freedom by workers who knew that there was always someone anxious to step into their jobs, coupled with the shrinking profits of producers and distributors, whose supply always exceeded the demand. For a time huge profits continued to be made by those who could take advantage of the losses of others, and even labor did fairly well as long as investors with an oversupply of money were financing purchases by foreign countries; but the disintegration of the free market as supply continued to grow faster than demand could not be concealed forever, and it caught up with the capitalist countries in such depression as they had never known before.

The wealthier ones—England, France, and the United States—lived on their accumulated capital and credit, in the hope that prosperity would succeed depression as it had always done before. To a minor extent prosperity did return; but for the first time it failed to exceed previous levels. It failed in England and the United States to reduce unemployment to reasonable figures, and it failed to stimulate private investment. The potential supply had become so much greater than the demand that no business man could look with confidence at the future. Labor and taxes were usually blamed; but the important fact was that scarcity value had disappeared except where it was supported by monopoly.

Even in the case of monopoly or industry-controlled prices, the profit system as it used to operate has disappeared in the mass-production industries. Investment

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in plant and machinery is so heavy that unit cost depends upon volume of sales rather than upon the price of the materials and labor which go into any single unit. If General Motors prepares its plant to produce a million Chevrolets in a year and sells only one, that single Chevrolet will cost many millions of dollars. On the other hand, if the management of General Motors plans production and establishes a selling price at such a figure that the sale of a million Chevrolets will fully pay for general overhead and the cost of machine tools for that particular model, the profit on every Chevrolet sold over a million will be huge.

The operations of General Motors, or of Ford, or of Chrysler in any given year are therefore a terrific gamble. If there were cutthroat price competition in the automobile industry, as advocated by classical capitalist economists, this gamble would create an impossible situation, because the total market for new automobiles in the United States is limited, no matter what the price, and a price war would obviously result in loss for every company. They would all have to meet their competitors' prices, wherever they were set, since they would lose less by selling some cars at any price than by selling no cars at all. But, together, they are always capable of producing more cars than can possibly be sold at a profit.

The Brookings Institution recommends that industry should steadily increase consumption by reducing prices as costs go down. But that is impossible under the present system because for the mass-production industries costs cannot even be determined until most of the product has been sold. It is therefore inevitable in a capitalist economy of potential abundance that big business—and eventually small business, too—should seek price stabilization. As a matter of fact, many large businesses do their best to set prices at a level which will provide reasonable profits on the expected volume of sales, after considering the best advice which market analysts can give them. Naturally, they seek to stabilize wages also, and they would like to stabilize the market if they could. Few of them are consciously aware of the fact that the stabilization of wages, prices, and profits means the end of the free market which has been the traditional economic basis for democracy, or that such stabilization was the original program of fascism. They are merely exhibiting a natural reaction to the fact that the seller's market, in which the demand for goods and services exceeded the supply, has been replaced by a buyer's market, in which the potential supply always exceeds the demand. In such a situation sellers can make a profit only by combining openly or tacitly to bargain with the buyers, and if government tries to prevent that, they will try to gain control of the government.

What must inevitably happen, however, is that when big business obtains control of government—when individual economic liberty is destroyed and there is no longer any power within the state capable of challenging the power of the state—government will also become virtually synonymous with business, and power will eventually rest in the hands of the politician rather than the business man. That is what happened in Germany.

FASCISM BECOMES SOCIALISTIC

Fascism, as first conceived in Italy, did not go much beyond the business man's ideal of stabilizing wages, prices, and profits. The rest was political trimming. And as might have been expected, it failed to achieve much expansion of Italian production except as money could be borrowed from foreign countries. National Socialism, on the other hand, promptly substituted state planning for business planning, and solved the problems of capital investment, production, and distribution without regard for traditional economic laws. The Nazis' immediate task was made easier by a huge armament program, because employment of millions of workers in producing arms simplified the problem of adjusting consumers' income to the available supply of consumers' goods. But in the management of their economy they decided that the way to produce is to produce, the way to distribute is to distribute, and that the allocation of money income is a purely state-controlled device—virtually a convenient fiction—for expediting the processes. More practical and hard-headed than the Russians, the Nazis found it useful to retain some of the traditional folklore of private investment, private management, and private profit, but the folklore was never allowed to interfere with the practical exigencies of state planning and state control. The free market, the competitive system, almost immediately ceased to have any significance after Hitler came into power. In the Nazi philosophy neither economic freedom nor political freedom has any place in the modern world.

On the basis of proved military strength, National Socialism does seem to have demonstrated that it is an effective way of escaping from under the dead hand which traditional capitalism places upon productive efficiency. Germans believe, and there is no economic proof to the contrary, that when by force of arms they have obtained control of adequate sources of raw materials, their productive efficiency will be turned with equal success to raising the German standard of living. And certainly anyone who maintains that the United States can match the productive efficiency of Germany without curtailment of personal liberties, or without drastic changes in the organization of our economy, is a liar, a demagogue, or a fool. A centralized authority with full power to allocate all raw materials and all labor, as well as to determine the kinds and qualities of goods to be produced, can unquestionably solve its problems of production and distribution more effectively than a country which preserves even a partially free market.

Social planners in the United States are indulging in

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wishful thinking when they insist that democracy can be retained where there is full centralized control over a national economy. Theoretically, it might be, but, practically, there is nothing to guarantee that it will be. And even if the forms of political democracy were retained, how much would they mean? Are the voters of any country capable of making sensible decisions about the organization of their country's productive machinery?

Democracy is confronted with the brutal fact that the economic system which has supported it no longer functions efficiently, and is rapidly ceasing to exist in the form in which it was conceived. The existence of potential abundance, the rationalization of production, and the use of power machinery are eliminating the free market for individual economic initiative. For a time intelligent men could reasonably argue that restoration of the free market was more important than productive efficiency, but the rise of an alternative system which presents a challenge in the form of tremendous military power makes such an argument suicidal. Even the defeat of Germany in war could scarcely result in turning the clock back. The free market in the democracies is already too nearly dead.

Democracy in the United States does, however, retain other safeguards. Some of them, like the more extreme interpretations of states' rights, are also anachronistic and serve merely to obstruct progress. But many of the traditional divisions of political power and a few new ones, such as the quasi-independent Tennessee Valley Authority, the National Resources Planning Board, and the National Defense Council, suggest the possibility of coordinating national effort without vesting all authority in a single person, group, or party.

The chief problem is to obtain centralized control where it is necessary without creating a single, unopposed central power. The chief obstacle to effective coordination is the existence of power in the hands of individuals, corporations, and political organizations who will not submit to anything less than supreme authority. And in the mind of the public the traditional value of individual economic freedom as a safeguard for democracy is being used as an argument for preserving the power of the rationalized industries and concentrations of finance which have already removed that basis of freedom.

Any attempt to break up big business while the country is preparing to meet a military threat from totalitarianism would lead to disastrous civil conflict and loss of productive efficiency. But unless the possibilities of abundance inherent in the technique of mass production can be realized within the framework of democracy, unless big business can be redirected toward expansion instead of toward stabilization, sooner or later the people will turn to the totalitarian method of achieving coordination by the creation of an omnipotent central authority.

Mexico: Another Spain

BY RALPH BATES

ALMOST the only question about Mexico that has been put to me since my return from that country last week is, "What is going to happen? Will the rightists revolt?"

That sort of question usually takes a left-wing writer three thousand words not to answer. But not this time. I know the Almazanistas are preparing counter-revolution. And to the next question I will give just as categorical an answer. The Almazanistas, if only they can get over the hump, have a chance of winning.

The followers of Avila Camacho and Almazán are equally emphatic that they won the election by large majorities. In a country which is in process of revolution, and in which democracy is not yet the universal habit of mind, election results are not, and should not be, the basis of judgment. The extreme left in Mexico, which asserts that the P. R. M., or governmental party, won hands down, also says that there is grave danger of revolt, which would hardly be possible if election results were a relevant guide. The right, which declares it won hands up, is headed by men who began to talk of revolt long before the election took place. Again, both sides claim that the election was fraudulently conducted. One has only to talk with plain unsophisticated people in Mexico to know that wherever they had the power, the Almazanistas kept their opponents from voting. On the other hand, so experienced and well-informed a left-winger as Harry Bloch declared in *The Nation* (June 8, 1940) that everyone knew that so long as the P. R. M. controlled the election machinery Almazán's chances of winning the election were nil.

If I am to believe a brilliant Mexican revolutionary whose knowledge of foreign affairs is authoritative, the opinions I have given are shared in certain diplomatic circles. My friend pointed out that as long ago as the first week in June the Mexican government formally intimated to London that it desired to reestablish diplomatic relations. Unfortunately, nothing has been done by the British government. Mexican inner circles, my informant said, believe that London is waiting to see

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what happens in Mexico. The same informant told me that Washington was now somewhat less inclined to commit itself to certain excellent proposals than earlier. I may add that while there is no suggestion that Almazán was financed by the Nazi authorities in Mexico, it is certain that the Nazi propaganda is pro-Almazán. It is not believed that the German representatives care much about the opposition program. What they want is trouble, in order to embarrass the pro-British United States. At the same time the present Mexican administration, while it has not lost its apprehensions concerning American imperialism, is not excessively distrustful of the United States government and is ready to collaborate with it in certain ways. It must be remembered that on the whole the P. R. M. is pro-British, in the sense in which every intelligent revolutionary is. I found that the Laski view of the war was at once understood and approved by some of the shrewdest thinkers of the left.

Whatever may be the volume of public support that Almazán possesses, it is certain that he has large funds, great propaganda resources, and powerful friends in the army, and that he himself is an able man. His followers hope to profit by the present severe economic crisis in Mexico, which they attribute to the revolutionary policy of the government. In his latest statement (New York *Times,* September 3) General Almazán says: "After six years of short cuts to Utopia—six years during which every known Russian plan has been copied —conditions are worse than in 1934. Housing is still a reproach, public health remains neglected, illiteracy has not been decreased, civil liberty is a farce, and famine shadows the land."

There is no space here to answer the charges in detail. They will not be accepted by anyone who has been at pains to understand Mexico. Housing is still a reproach, it is true, and will be for another quarter of a century. But no one had suspected that the P. R. U. N., Almazán's party, representative of the dispossessed or partially dispossessed landlords, bankers, middle-class interests, and all the corrupt derelicts of the directionless past, had any interest in housing. After all, were they not the architects of pre-Cárdenas Mexico? Public health remains a reproach too, but every effort of the Cárdenas government to provide medical facilities has been obstructed by the men who support Almazán.

Illiteracy has decreased under the Cárdenas regime. Rather more than 13,000 new schools were opened between 1934 and 1938. Education is, of course, far from good in Mexico, but Cárdenas is not responsible for the lack of professional training facilities which his administration encountered in beginning its educational campaign. There is hardly a department of government in which the Cárdenas record is better than in this one of education. And, if publishers are to be believed, the yearly sales of newspapers rose from 140,000,000, to 200,000,000 between 1935 and 1937. Much remains to be done, but a government which spends about half of its budget on education is not to be discredited by the candidate of social classes that have not yet called for or supported a healthy literature.

As to civil liberties, it is quite possible that my friend Roger Baldwin would find plenty to do in Mexico. Yet the Cárdenas government has been the least arbitrary Mexican administration since 1910. The almost dangerous clemency shown in 1938 to the Cedillista insurrectionists—most of whom support Almazán—is proof. It is interesting to note what *America* thinks of General Almazán. The current number of that paper says: "His biographer, Enrique Lumen, describes him as 'a democrat believing in social discipline,' which might be translated as a desire to restore healthy austerity to public service, as Franco has done in Spain."

To all the charges made by Almazán, detailed and convincing replies can be made. The debate really proceeds on other grounds—the agrarian reform and the labor legislation stemming from Article 123 of the Mexican constitution. Of these, the first is by far the most important. Cárdenas has distributed more land than all the previous administrations put together. Approximately 17 million hectares of land had been granted to *ejiditarios* by the end of 1939. And, what is quite as important, while previous administrations had endowed the peasants with an average of twenty-five acres, the Cárdenas average has been forty-seven acres to a man. (Only a small part of each donation is arable land.) By the end of 1938 about one-half of the total arable land of Mexico had been turned over to the peasantry. Supporters of the Cárdenas regime usually stop at this point, believing that this in itself satisfactorily explains the present political crisis. However, there are certain complexities which are worth study.

In his election manifesto General Almazán declared that he would continue to distribute land; many of his followers even insisted that they would speed up the process. One is not obliged to believe them; and, very definitely, I do not. The opposition candidate, however, appealed to the property instinct in the peasantry by stating that he would convert the *ejidal* strips into real property. For the future they should *own* the land, not merely enjoy its usufruct. He promised to abolish what he calls "Russian collectivism," and to defend the peasantry against the bureaucratic tyranny of the administration banks, which at present service the agrarian reform. This "collectivistic tyranny," the P. R. U. N. declares, is the cause of the agricultural crisis and the ever-rising prices of consumers' goods.

There can be no simple reply to this attack. Grave difficulties have been encountered in carrying out the land reform, difficulties which are due in part to the very nature of that reform. Apart from this and from the un-

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doubted fact that every landless peasantry desires to *possess* land, all the Almazán propaganda I have seen is merely polemical, and invariably dishonest.

In 1938 only one-third of the *ejiditarios* were organized more or less collectively. Almazán's charge, therefore, seems to mean that the bad work of one-third of the *ejiditarios* has brought down the productive index. Unfortunately for him, the exact contrary is the case. In 1938 crops were poor and the statistics for the bumper year of 1939 are not yet available, but in 1938, for the principal crops, the level of production upon the collectivized *ejidos* was way above the general index for Mexican agriculture.

Almazán, in appealing to the property instinct, knew that there was some village hostility to the ejidal bank. In addition, he hoped to appeal to those peasants who have not yet received land and who therefore have not learned by experience that some form of collectivism is necessary and beneficial. Since the peasantry has no money, it cannot very well work the land. Without tools, beasts, machines, or the means of irrigation the unaided peasant can grow barely enough to sustain his family. In order that financial aid shall be productive, some form of collective organization is necessary. I have examined hundreds of letters from peasants in villages endowed with *ejidos*. Though all are full of complaints, I have not yet read one which protested against the principle of collectivism as embodied in Mexican legislation. Nor, to be exact, have I ever heard much demand for outright possession in places where several crops have been raised with the help of the ejidal bank. That original desire has been weakened by experience, I believe. Bureaucracy is rife in the agrarian-reform departments, just as personalism and corruption haunt every department of administration, but glancing at the leading names of the P. R. U. N. one could hardly expect improvement from that source.

It is rather the success of this semi-collectivism which disturbs the "rectifiers" in the P. R. U. N. That success has not been as great as one could desire, but it is increasingly evident that experience is being gained. Old faults are slowly disappearing; fewer abuses are being committed. Sooner or later the semi-collective forms will become the norm and basis of Mexican agriculture. The concentration of property and formation of trusts, the invasion of agriculture by financial interests, the setting up of agrarian-industrial plants (sugar, cotton, sisal, etc.) henceforward are not likely to be within the control of the Mexican industrial and middle classes. This, I believe, is one reason why these groups have joined forces with the landlords. They may for the moment discover a lifelong belief in land distribution. They may even really believe in it. They certainly would have less objection to the formation of a large class of small property owners—with the permanent crisis which would result in a country of predominantly poor land—than to the continuation of the present effort. To be hemmed into cities by a countryside that is ever less likely to be a political ally, facing a laboring class that finds increasing support among the peasantry, is not a pleasing prospect for the industrialist, the banker, the coupon clipper, the small factory owner, or the more comfortable professional man. He hopes to stop this evolution before it has gone too far. Therefore, "The people will revolt." It is probable that the Almazanistas will revolt. Because of certain confusions on the left, fatigue and discouragement among various sections of the people, and the almost certain disloyalty in the last resort of some military leaders, the right has a chance. Nevertheless, I think the supporters of Camacho will win if the revolt occurs.

The American press has recently carried persistent denunciations of the Cárdenas regime. Almazán, playing for United States support, declared on September 3 that the country was governed by an unholy consort of Communists and Nazis, hostile to the United States. It suffices to say that in Mexico there is not the slightest sign of collaboration between the Communist Party and the Nazis, while the Mexican fascist organizations are all pro-Almazán. In any case, the Mexican Communist Party is a small party. Its effective dues-paying membership is only about ten thousand, and it is steady losing influence.

Nor is it true that the Avila Camacho administration will be hostile to this country, provided, at least, that present Washington policies are followed. Almazán may play for and obtain the support of the oil companies—though more than one Almazanista frankly told me that the properties would *not* be returned should Almazán obtain power—but the sounder heads in the Mexican left realize that American reaction to the oil expropriation might have been far worse. Similarly, in P. R. M. circles there is a clear understanding that the defeat of Britain would be followed by a wave of reaction that might easily generate policies in the United States so severe that Mexico would have to yield all along the line. The sympathy with Britain which one increasingly observes on the left in Mexico is not the consequence of any "surrender to imperialism."

The informant whose opinions I began by quoting agreed that the war was an imperialist war. For him the victory of one imperialism would be 100 per cent disaster for Mexico; a victory for its opponent would be infinitely less of a disaster. To put it simply, he did not believe that the Aguila oil interests would have greater control of British policies as a consequence of a Hitler defeat, but less. And he assumed that the emergent British government would be reactionary, which is a large assumption. He likewise thought that a Hitler victory would greatly increase the power of reactionary interests in the United States. Perhaps he was wrong, but on the whole, despite legitimate suspicion of the United

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States, that was the view that appeared to be gaining ground in Mexico.

The extreme left seems to resent this "confusion," but that the Mexican government is retreating from its former position or "surrendering to imperialism" is disproved by its heart-warming conduct in opening its doors to the Spanish Republic in Exile now in France.

It is true that most competent observers in Mexico agree that the Camacho administration is likely to move at a slower rate than that of the Cárdenas government in its early years. Why that is so will be best explained when it has become definitely manifest. Any calculations made today may be upset before the year is out. The Almazanistas have yet to play their cards, and not even the best guessers know quite what they have up their sleeves. It may only be cards.

Witch Hunt at Riom

BY HARRY J. GREENWALL

St. Fortunat (Ardèche), France, August 19

WHY was the ancient city of Riom chosen for the setting of the French political trials? For the same reason that Clermont-Ferrand was chosen as the first seat of the Pétain government. But why was Clermont-Ferrand chosen? Because Clermont-Ferrand is the ancient capital of Auvergne, and Pierre Laval is the favorite son (self-styled) of that region. He is at any rate the richest man in the whole province.

Riom, ten miles to the north of Clermont-Ferrand, is a dusty little bit of old France where the spotlight has never before penetrated. Perhaps the light will fade again long before Pierre Laval and Georges Bonnet can exclaim with Shylock: "I'll feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him." The object of their grudge is Georges Mandel. Yet if ever Georges Mandel enters the dock of the Court of Appeals in Riom, I should not be surprised to see him emerge immeasurably greater in stature.

Already signs and portents are not lacking concerning the second thoughts of those who rushed to set up a court to try the men accused of responsibility for France's misfortunes. In his message to the nation broadcast after the court had already begun its preliminary investigations, Marshal Pétain made no reference to the trials. After all these weeks no list of accused has been made public; even the strictly controlled newspapers discreetly sigh and wish the government would make known the names of those who are due to appear *sur la selle*. Most significant of all, however, is the intervention of the *Temps,* which shames the devil by publishing the true story of Mandel's dash to Morocco, and thus cuts the ground from under the prosecution. If trial there be now, it will be held *in camera;* the *Temps* story already prepares public opinion.

The importance of its revelation lies in the fact that the *Temps,* in the old days supposed to reflect the opinion of the Quai d'Orsay, is the property of François de Wendel, head of the Comité des Forges. It is the only newspaper in France today which may be even lightly labeled an opposition newspaper, and this links up with the report that behind the scenes there is a plan to form a Comité des Forges government in France, with the approval of the German industrialists. If this plan were carried out, the Pétain government would fade away and with it Messieurs Bonnet, Laval, and Marquet. Georges Bonnet, whose name seldom appears in print now but whose activity since Reynaud refused to have him in the Cabinet has been immense, is the chief instigator of the Riom trials; he is ably supported by Laval and the anti-Semitic Marquet, mayor of Bordeaux. Laval, although he has certain private grudges he would like to work off, is definitely not anti-Semitic.

The story prepared by Bonnet is that Georges Mandel, while Minister of the Interior in the last Reynaud government, conspired with Premier Winston Churchill and Lord Beaverbrook at Tours to carry on the war against Germany in defiance of the "arrangement" to surrender made by Bonnet and Laval. The story presented by the *Temps,* which I have checked with the aid of Frenchmen close to Edouard Herriot, goes as follows:

At the end of June the steamer Massilia sailed from Bordeaux for Casablanca in Morocco with ex-Premier Daladier, Georges Mandel, and some minor politicians on board. According to Bonnet, these men were "running away." M. Herriot, however, whose honesty is proverbial, is prepared to swear that he chartered the steamer Massilia at the request of the government; the government, therefore, must have been aware of the purpose of those who sailed in her. This purpose was to fulfil the pledge made by Premier Reynaud before the world—to carry on the government of France from French African soil. The *Temps* states that the arrival of the steamer in Casablanca was greeted "with hostile cries," but for this there are two possible explanations: that the mixed crowd of Arabs and whites thought the men landing were really running away or that the "hostile cries" were paid for.

With scrupulous fairness the *Temps* goes on to relate

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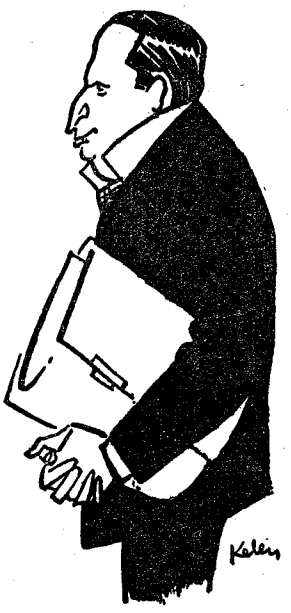
what happened after M. Mandel stepped ashore. He made at once for Rabat, which was at that moment the seat of government, and there sought an audience with the military governor, General Noguès, who happened to be absent on a tour of duty. M. Mandel informed the civil governor and the military authorities that M. Reynaud and his colleagues in the Cabinet which had just handed over office to Marshal Pétain had charged him with the task of setting up a government on African soil; that this government was to carry on the war side by side with Great Britain and with the full support of the French African army. It should be remembered that M. Mandel, as Minister of the Colonies, had played an important part in building up the vast and highly organized black and yellow army of Africa.

Next M. Mandel cabled London and asked that representatives of the Churchill government proceed at once from London to Morocco to establish contact with him. He then left Rabat to go to Casablanca, where he visited the office of the Havas News Agency and asked to see the local manager, but was informed that the manager was mobilized and therefore absent. The Havas News Agency, it should be emphasized, is heavily subsidized by the French Foreign Office and takes its instructions from the government.

In the absence of the head of the bureau M. Mandel instructed the young woman whom he found in the office to take down and send out a message stating that he had taken charge of the government and was expecting immediate contact with the British government. According to the *Temps,* M. Mandel said in so many words, "Send off these messages while I'm here; I want to see them dispatched." The girl protested that her discretionary powers were limited and that she must telephone to Rabat, where the manager was in barracks. M. Mandel agreed. The call having been put through, Mandel himself talked to the manager, who promised to see that the message was sent off from Rabat. But instead of doing so, he double-crossed the minister by submitting it to the local military authorities. Shortly afterward police officers came on the scene and asked M. Mandel to go aboard the Massilia and remain in his cabin. They told him that these measures were taken solely in his interest, because there were rumors of an organized public demonstration against him. M. Mandel concurred and was undone. Once he was aboard the steamer, the police gave the captain of the Massilia orders to raise anchor and to cruise about off shore until further orders.

The next morning, while the Massilia was still at sea, a seaplane swept down on Casablanca and landed Viscount Gort and Mr. Duff Cooper. The two Britishers appeared surprised that they were not met by M. Mandel and spent the evening in their hotel waiting for him. The next morning after breakfast they asked the way to the British consulate. From a chair in the lobby a slim young man in an alpaca jacket jumped up to say he would show them the way. He did not say he was a plain-clothes detective placed in the hotel, according to custom, to "protect" distinguished visitors. The *Temps* affirms that the detective, acting entirely without orders, prevented the Britishers from visiting the consulate. On their return to the hotel Lord Gort and Mr. Duff Cooper found a representative of the local French government waiting for them, eager to offer excuses for the absence of General Noguès.



Georges Mandel

"But we have come to see the chief of the French government," exclaimed the Britishers.

"The Marshal is in Bordeaux, or in Clermont-Ferrand, or in Vichy; not in Morocco," was the reply.

"We don't want to see Marshal Pétain; we want to see Premier Mandel."

"M. Mandel is not ashore; for the moment he cannot be seen, and besides," said the very polite caller, "M. Mandel has no office in the present government. There must be some mistake, gentlemen."

There ends the *Temps* story, but that is by no means the end of the whole story.

One may well ask why Bonnet is so particularly anxious to put the screws on Mandel. The answer is that Mandel has what is probably the best *dossier* of facts about French personages that has been compiled since the Revolution. Possibly it is no better than the one said to be owned and on occasion made use of by Senator de Monzie. One does not know how much use Mandel has ever made of his, but he has spent years collecting and filing the records, official and unofficial, of his friends and enemies.

Little has been written about Georges Mandel, but those of us who have lived and worked long in France remember the sallow, stocky little Jew who during the first World War was Clemenceau's right-hand man. Mandel, who preferred to use his mother's name rather than that of his father, a Rothschild, does not deny the obscurity of his origin or the things he did as the Tiger's cub. For years he lurked in the shadows, hated and feared—a Fouché in a frock coat, a twentieth-century Jew Süss minus the touch of high or low finance. During the last Clemenceau regime he was the unofficial Minister of the Interior; Mandel always knew, always will know, where power lies.

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In the Flandin and Laval cabinets, Georges Mandel was Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. It is curious and interesting to remember that at this period he installed in the outskirts of Paris a radio setup which enabled the government—and himself—to listen to radio and radio-telephonic communications from all quarters of the globe. During his term of office a postal strike threatened to tie up France; Mandel broke it as ruthlessly as Briand many years before had broken the railroad strike. With the collapse of the Laval government Mandel vanished once again into the shadows, but it is on record that when he left the Rue de Grenelle ministry for the last time, his staff lined the way from his office to his automobile and roundly hissed him.

For a period Mandel was the head of a bloc of eleven Nationalist deputies whose power was entirely out of proportion to their number. When he came back to office during the war crisis, he smilingly locked away his *dossiers* and set about reorganizing the Ministry of Colonies. It was then that I met him for the last time, lunching at Geneviève Tabouis's, where he lectured me, the only Englishman at the table, on the necessity for Britain's giving away some of its colonies. Shortly before the capitulation Reynaud made him Minister of the Interior.

It is said that the Riom witch hunters wish to follow the trial of Georges Mandel with another sensational and secret trial, that of Edouard Daladier. Before the war, Daladier was pushed by Mandel and some other patriotic Frenchmen to put an end to the intrigue Georges Bonnet was carrying on in French newspaper and political circles with the complicity of von Ribbentrop's agents. Making a weak gesture Daladier expelled the German pay-off man Abetz, who has just been appointed German ambassador to France, and a few other minor figures, and arrested a number of French journalists and advertising men, who, however, were never brought to trial.

Meanwhile Mandel's Bonnet *dossier* grew and grew. Various interesting items were probably added about the Comte de Brinon, who was the vice-president of the Comité France-Allemagne and known to the Quai d'Orsay as "Bonnet's personal ambassador to Berlin." Before being sent to Washington as ambassador Bonnet was Minister of Finance and then of Commerce, and the *dossier* may note that until that time, despite a "good" marriage, he was far from wealthy. Now he has a magnificent apartment on the Avenue Foch. Not the least interesting section of the *dossier* may relate to a financial scandal in which Georges Mandel saved Georges Bonnet from exposure.

These swollen Mandel *dossiers* must contain things many men would give much to destroy. I do not pretend to know what has become of them, but I would wager that, although copies may be in Morocco, the originals are in safe custody, either in London or New York. Now the hunt is on, but there is a French proverb which says that before forgiving your enemy you must first do him an injury.

Ann Arbor Hysteria

BY S. R. KAYE

Ann Arbor, Michigan, September 4

IN THE academic world the occupational hazards of left-wing political activity are frequently severe. Heads may fall, and there is no workmen's compensation. In most places student "radicals" are suppressed after they have indulged in some sharp act of defiance, some daring disregard of constituted authority, but at Ann Arbor severe punishment has been meted out to a group guilty of no recent or striking provocation. Twelve students at the University of Michigan have been "denied readmission" and four others have been warned in a cold, calculated effort to silence a sizable group by the decapitation of a few.

All reports of the affair have linked the dismissals with President Alexander G. Ruthven's statement, made in the course of his commencement address, that the university would deal firmly with "subversive or so-called fifth-column activities." Nine of the students belonged to the American Student Union, one was a member of the Young People's Socialist League, another of New America, and the last was a follower of Max Schachtman's anti-Communist Workers' Party. Two of the A. S. U. members also belonged to the Young Communist League. Dr. Ruthven insists that they were not ousted for "their political ideas or their membership in any organization." They were denied readmission, he asserts, for specific activities which were "detrimental to the work of other students or to the public interest."

What were these activities? Four students, freshmen members of the A. S. U., were barred for helping to organize a C. I. O. union among the university's 3,000 non-academic employees. "It didn't contribute to peace on the campus," Vice-President Shirley Smith explained to me, adding, "I have been expressly instructed by the Board of Regents not to enter into collective bargaining with any union. This is a state institution." Two were

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Negroes who had invoked the civil-rights law and demanded service at two Ann Arbor restaurants. Two others, both white, took part in the "plot"—as one administrator put it—against these restaurants by aiding the Negroes to obtain the "cooperation" of the city prosecutor.

Hugo Reichard, vice-president of the A. S. U. chapter and an honor student, had defended Russia's invasion of Finland in a public debate. A girl freshman had circulated a petition objecting to what was said to be a forced sale of tickets for a university-sponsored Finnish relief concert. Most of the nine A. S. U. members had taken part in such familiar activities as selling "peace bonds" to raise a national anti-war chest, passing out "The Yanks Are Not Coming" buttons, and sponsoring debates on the war. They had also figured prominently in a campus-wide peace demonstration at which 3,500 students heard Senator Nye oppose intervention.

All but two of the twelve had good grades. Several had honor ratings. One was a faculty assistant in psychology; another held two scholarships; a third had won an Avery Hopwood award for creative writing. Four were residents of Michigan; eight were from outside the state. Six were Jewish.

Technically the twelve students have not been expelled. They have been refused readmission. Dr. Ruthven explained the difference in a letter to one student: "If your expulsion from the university were being considered, charges would be preferred and you would have a trial." As it is, the students were judged *in absentia* and given no explanation of the university's action.

Strangely enough, Dr. Ruthven, the administrator of this vicious policy, yearns to achieve the reputation of a liberal educator. He has often complained bitterly that "any evidence of unorthodox thinking, the slightest tinge of pink, becomes conspicuous as a departure from the norm and causes a spasm of hysteria in timid souls who are fearful of being disturbed." Valiantly he has blasted those who criticize "students for daring to think outside of particular patterns." At the same time he has tolerated a group of reactionary aides who devote half their time to harassing students with unorthodox views. These administrative assistants have set up boards to question applicants for admission about their political beliefs. They have interfered again and again with free expression in student publications. They have denied the use of lecture halls to a wide variety of speakers.

Dr. Ruthven's timidity is revealed by the following episode. In a speech before the New York alumni this college president declared: "It is positively dangerous for [society] to thwart the ambition of youth to reform the world. Only the schools which act on this belief are educational institutions in the best meaning of the term." The editors of the student newspaper printed this liberal gem in a box at the top of the editorial column. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* applauded their sagacity in enshrining this guaranty of freedom in a conspicuous spot. Three months later, after the appointment of a new editor, the box was removed at Dr. Ruthven's request. "I am only a chore boy in the university," he told me recently.

This is probably partly true. Regents, legislators, politicians, and wealthy alumni call many of his signals. The purse-strings of the institution are controlled in large part by the state legislature, made up of up-state farmers and down-state representatives of the automobile companies. The physical expansion of the university is dependent mainly upon the largess of wealthy alumni, who could hardly be expected to approve any toleration of unorthodox expression. Significantly, in the eleven years of Dr. Ruthven's administration private gifts have mounted sharply.

The university's Board of Regents, which is directly elected by the voters of the state, contains, among its eight members, Michigan's former head football coach, Harry Kipke, who as a candidate for his post received the aid of Ford's anti-union personnel director, Harry Bennett. Since his election Kipke has been given the luncheon concession at the River Rouge plant. Five of the regents are corporation lawyers. One, a Democratic national committeeman, was formerly legal counsel for Consumers' Power, a subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern. Another was chairman of a Garner-for-President committee. The seventh is a retired banker. The eighth is the wife of a General Motors executive.

This being the structure of the university, it is hardly strange that freedom is curtailed. What is strange is that two of the ousted freshmen and possibly four of the others have been readmitted. This gives away the weakness of the university's case. Obviously, if these students were the "dangerous characters" they were painted, they would not have been readmitted, even though they did bring their parents long distances to confer with Dr. Ruthven. All had to promise to "settle down." Those who refuse to recant can hardly expect reinstatement unless liberal groups bring sharp pressure on the authorities.

Committees have been formed in Ann Arbor, Detroit, and New York to publicize the case and enlist alumni support. Scores of letters of protest are pouring into Dr. Ruthven's office. The brunt of the battle, however, must be borne by six professors, three of them heads of departments, who have submitted a petition to the University Council, a joint faculty-administration body, asking for a thorough discussion of the whole matter at the first meeting this fall.

Success in this case would not only open the way for an attack upon more covert forms of repression at the university, but all over the country would give new courage to beleaguered defenders of civil liberty.

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Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Scientific Looting

I SEE little reason to question Ambassador Cudahy's testimonial to the good behavior of the German troops in Belgium. Observers in other occupied countries have also given evidence of their good discipline and of the general absence of incidents between them and the civilian populations who are their unwilling hosts. But the fact that individual looting, rapine, and outrage have been largely prevented in the conquered Western countries does not, I believe, constitute evidence of an improvement in Nazi morality. It is, rather, another illustration of the way in which crime, like everything else in the Third Reich, is made to serve the purposes of the state. Private murder is discouraged, for public executions are more efficient instruments of terror. Individual looting is wasteful and corrosive of military discipline. Hence it is abolished in favor of organized and collectivized plundering.

On occasion, of course, state policy may require an appearance of individualized brutality. We all remember those "spontaneous" outrages against the Jews in the fall of 1938, and in Poland soldiers and police seem to have been encouraged to beat up the inhabitants whenever the whim seized them. But then the official creed is that Poles should be constantly reminded of their racial inferiority. As Arthur Greiser, the Danzig Führer said recently: "The Pole is the servant of the German and will remain it forever."

On the basis of their own theories the Nazis can hardly take the line that such peoples as the Dutch, the Danes, and the Norwegians are racially inferior, and, moreover, the official myth is that they have not been conquered but merely protected. Consequently the German officials placed over them are instructed to use the velvet glove, only permitting the mailed fist to peep out occasionally. This means "correct" behavior by the troops and no ostentatious looting either by the occupying army or by civilian commissioners.

However, in the course of building up the Third Reich to its present power, the Nazis invented and perfected many devices for the concealment of theft, and these are now being adapted to the economics of conquest. In several occupied countries, for instance, German soldiers are receiving part of their pay in credit notes which are exchangeable into local currency at rates fixed by the Nazi authorities. In Denmark this rate is two kroner for one mark, which is not far removed from the nominal exchange quotation. But as is well known, the official quotations for Reichsmarks in any currency have for years been pure window-dressing. Practically all external transactions have been made in terms of one or another of the prolific brood of fancy marks: aski marks, travelers' marks, refugee marks, blocked marks, and so forth—all of these exchanged at varying but large discounts below the value of the nominal mark. On a purchasing-power-parity basis, that is to say, by using a comparison of the quantities of similar goods which each coin could buy within its own territory, a mark and a kroner were roughly equivalent at the time of the German invasion. Thus by fixing the rate at two kroner, the Nazis were, in effect, giving themselves a 100 per cent bonus in purchasing power.

Let us imagine a German soldier with a day's leave in front of him drawing ten marks of pay in the form of credit notes. With his twenty kroner he wanders round Copenhagen, gets himself a good meal and a glass or two of Carlsberg lager, buys a souvenir for his mother and a pair of stockings for his girl—who can buy only six pairs a year in Germany—and then amuses himself for an hour or two in the Tivoli Gardens. To the Danes with whom he comes in contact he will seem a well-behaved young man who scrupulously pays full price for everything. Perhaps they will say as they hand the credit notes into the bank: "Really these Germans are not so bad." But let us follow these credit notes to the National Bank of Denmark, where they are eventually turned in and redeemed for kroner. They are then presented for payment to the German government, and the equivalent amount in marks is entered to the credit of the Danish National Bank at the Reichsbank. These marks are theoretically available for the financing of Danish purchases in Germany. But here's the rub. The Germans are unwilling or unable to sell those goods that the Danes really need—steel and other raw materials, fertilizers, and cattle fodder. They even seem to have difficulty in supplying coal, of which Germany now controls enormous resources, but this is probably the result of a shortage of transport facilities.

Personal expenditure of the German troops is, perhaps, a minor source of Denmark's largely unusable German credit. Much more serious are the amounts accumulated through the export of goods to Germany far in excess of Danish purchases. Unable to import feeding stuffs from overseas, the Danish farmers have been compelled to slaughter one-third of their livestock. That has supplied the Nazis with a welcome quantity of fresh meat, probably very cheaply, for dealing in a glutted market they would be in a position to name their own price. In addition, Germany has bought up or requisitioned huge quantities of Danish products and reserves of imported goods. As a result, reports a correspondent of the Wall Street Journal, the Danish clearing balance with Germany expanded by 100 million marks in the first six weeks of the occupation. It all adds up to this: Denmark, under pressure, is parting with tangible and, under present circumstances, irreplaceable assets, receiving in return credits which are useless for financing present pressing needs and possess a very dubious future value.

In similar ways the Nazis are stripping all the occupied countries. In France the German military authorities deposited blocks of German bonds with the banks, receiving francs in exchange. Then they went to the French merchants and bought up everything useful in sight—on the surface an honest transaction, employing customary business methods, but in essence scientific looting that immeasurably increases the misery of France. In all the occupied states the dearth of goods gets steadily worse, while German methods tend to swell the circulation of money. When the means of payment expand as the supply of goods shrinks, there

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can only be one end—inflation. That is what is in store for the victims of Nazi aggression, along with unemployment, ruined industries, and famine. And that too will be Germany's eventual fate if it cannot force victory.

In the W

ROBERT JOSEPHY, head of Guild, was called on some tir for a book by Neville Chamberlain design the initials N. C. linked to the publishers said solemnly he thou to omit any flourishes.

id Magazine sign a jacket ed as a cover ross. One of uld be better

WHILE THE POST of NLRB chairman goes unfilled, the White House is continuing its effort to persuade Edwin S. Smith to resign from the board. It has offered him several other posts, but he has refused to yield. The rumor is that if he quits J. Warren Madden will be retained. Meanwhile, Madden is fuming.

CHARGES THAT subsidiaries of Wendell Willkie's Commonwealth and Southern had employed labor spies and purchased munitions were followed by indignant denials from officials of the companies. Mixed with their denials, however, were these admissions: that one subsidiary had employed Pinkertons to check on collections on street cars, that another had bought arms to prevent "sabotage." These dubious details were omitted from the lengthy report on the denials published by the New York *Times.* The staunchly pro-Willkie *Herald Tribune* printed them.

A KENTUCKY TEACHER vows that in a country school in the Ninth Congressional District of Kentucky the children solemnly chant: "We pledge allegiance to the flag and to the Republicans for which it stands."

TWO DISPATCHES about camouflage were recently carried in the same issue of the New York *Times.* One, from Washington, D. C., denied that the army had any new method for making planes invisible. A shorter item from Buffalo reported that "a new lacquer enamel" had been developed to "enable the army to change the color of a plane depending on the terrain over which it is flying." A company official, the item continued, said the paint "is now being used experimentally by the army at Maxwell Field, Alabama."

WHEN WALTER WANGER talked from a Montreal radio station recently, he spoke in French. Asked why, he retorted, "I heard Sam Goldwyn deliver a talk in English—why shouldn't I talk French?"

HISTORICAL NEWS: The publication of the biography of Andrew Maginot has been postponed until midwinter to make it "conform to later events."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

NOT long ago a Negro educator went down into Mississippi and stopped at the home of a prosperous Negro farmer. On the porch in the hot twilight after supper the farmer asked the educator if he knew Monroe Work, who since 1908 has kept the records on lynchings in America at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Yes, the educator said.

"I'd like to meet him," the colored farmer told him.

"Why?"

"I want to see the biggest liar now living."

The statement was not a reflection on the character of Dr. Work, who is one of the most distinguished statisticians of his race, but an angry rejection of his statistics, which have recorded what has appeared to be the process of disappearance of lynching in the South.

Far otherwise, say those Negro leaders who for a quarter of a century have been steadily and unsuccessfully seeking a federal anti-lynching bill, what has happened is that lynchings have gone "underground." The Underground Railroad now, they say, is operated by white Southerners, and it runs in killing quietness to the river, the buzzards, and the grave too deep for the dogs to dig up.

Obviously there is no reason for a federal anti-lynching bill if the lynchings no longer occur. But those who still advocate the legislation strenuously insist that a "new technique" has been worked out to "kill the niggers" and yet keep the killings, which are expressions of white group bitterness and not of mere individual murderousness, out of the statistics and the newspapers. That keeps them also off the conscience of the South and the nation. Cases of such killings have been investigated and reported by Negroes and by white men, too. The pattern of violence, they say, has changed. Even country towns have learned that lynchings are bad for business. Indignation, near and far, has made many people more sensitive than they were a few years ago. But the sensitiveness sometimes resembles that of an East Texas sheriff who told a Southern white woman, on her inquiring about a case, that they were going "to have to do something to the simp who sent in that story to the Beaumont *Enterprise*. He gets paid by the word and he'd send in anything for a dollar."

Every sensible Southerner familiar with the facts of small-town life in the black belt of the Deep South knows that such killings do occur. What may very well be questioned, however, is that such killings are new. In big cities men talk about "new techniques"; in the back country they more often act in terms of old emotions. A wise friend of mine in the Deep South, who hates lynchings with as much bitterness as Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. and with more shame as a man of the same race as lynchers, talked about this question of violence and statistics not long ago. "I have no doubt that lynching statistics are imperfect," he told me, "but if so, there should be no news in that. I take it that killers have ever had a tendency to cover up and that in the past they covered up many crimes. But I know of no reason why our lynching statistics are not as trustworthy now as they were twenty years ago. I certainly know that mob action is on the decline in all the Southern states, especially in Alabama. I know that public opinion regarding it has changed."

But killers remain. The important fact is that they remain; they are not new. Five years ago I crossed the plantation of a landlord who was said to have killed, with the help of friends and neighbors, some nine or ten Negroes without ever having to go into the courthouse about it. But the number of such murders has been both magnified and minimized by the constant movement of Negroes. A man might be reported murdered who had only walked out on his wife and family. On the other hand, a man might be reported to have gone to Chicago whose battered body was rotting in a bayou.

One thing is certain: there is plenty of room for indignation about the continued killings without denying the real advance which has been made. Not only have the lynchings which get into the statistics decreased; also there is basis for belief that the number of killings covered up has decreased also. Nevertheless, as a part of advance, this charge of "new technique—it seems rather a broadening of the definition of lynching to include the relatively private and unpublicized murders based on prejudice—may be a valuable thing. Southern white men, who hate lynching like a deformity in their South, think the South deserves honor for its advance out of shameful violence. But the South should not luxuriate in any sense of righteousness merely because arrogant, open violence seems to be disappearing. In race relations it still has a great task—but also greater hope—in escaping from the amazing combination of sentimentality and fury, softness and violence, petting and killing which outside the cities has so long made the whole business of race relations in the South a subject almost for despair.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Ear

BY LOUIS MACNEICE

There are many sounds which are neither music nor voice,
There are many visitors in masks or in black glasses
Climbing the spiral staircase of the ear. The choice
Of callers is not ours. Behind the hedge
Of night they wait to pounce. A train passes,
The thin and audible end of a dark wedge.

We should like to lie alone in a dark, hollow
Cocoon of self where no person or thing would speak;
In fact we lie and listen as a man might follow
A will-o'-the-wisp in an endless eyeless bog,
Follow the terrible drone of a cockchafer, or the bleak
Oracle of a barking dog.

The Sawdust Trail

THE BOTTLENECKS OF BUSINESS. By Thurman W Arnold. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

THOSE who read "The Symbols of Government" and "The Folklore of Capitalism" will find it hard to believe that "The Bottlenecks of Business" was written by the same Thurman W. Arnold who left Laramie, Wyoming, to bust ideological broncos at the Yale Law School. That other Arnold was a man about town in the world of ideas who took his fun where he found it—usually among our most revered legal and sociological concepts; he was cynical, witty, detached, amused, and slightly bored, bored most of all with earnest, reforming people. This one is evangelical. "The Bottlenecks of Business" is a plea for understanding, sympathy, and support in that most forlorn of lost causes, enforcement of the anti-trust laws, and unlike its predecessors, it contains no pagan philosophical caviar. It is written in the two-plus-two style of a missionary tract, to explain current Sherman Act prosecutions by the Department of Justice. The motorist who wonders at the uniformity in gasoline prices, the dairy farmer whose earnings ultimately depend on the hocus-pocus that passes for "bidding" at the Plymouth, Wisconsin, cheese exchange, the woman who wants a pair of nylon hose make up the audience for whom Brother Arnold now dons the bonnet and beats the drum.

The book's fervor illustrates one of the earlier Thurman Arnold's favorite themes, the personality that institutions impress upon those called into their service. When Arnold was still the gay dog of New York, New Haven, and Hartford smoking cars, with a satirist's eye for the hypocrisies that cement society, he regarded campaigns against trusts as on a par with the recurrent campaigns against prostitution. This was the parallel drawn in "The Folklore of Capitalism." "Anyone who attacked the 'Trusts,' " he wrote in that book, "could achieve the same public worship as a minister of the gospel who had the energy to attack vice." He spoke of Theodore Roosevelt "with his big stick that never hit anybody." The trust-busting crusade, Arnold then thought, "was not a practical one. It was part of a moral conflict, and no preacher ever succeeded in abolishing any form of sin." But that was before Arnold became head of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. The appointment itself seemed a Brain Trust prank. It was as if Al Smith had been placed in charge of enforcing the Volstead Act. The institution, as Arnold would have predicted, proved bigger than the man. "The Bottlenecks of Business" also discusses the Teddy Roosevelt trust-busting campaign. But this time there is no indulgence in whimsy. The terms in which the new book analyzes the failure of that campaign are calculated to pierce the hearts of a Congressional appropriations committee. Why did T. R. fail? "You will be surprised," Arnold, now the full-fledged Assistant Attorney General, confides, "when I answer that the personnel of the Anti-Trust Division during that famous crusade consisted of only five lawyers and four stenographers." In "The Bottlenecks of Business" the problem of enforcing the anti-trust laws becomes a budgetary and personnel problem. Canute might have halted the waves if he had had a larger office staff.

Why was the Anti-Trust Division undermanned? Arnold does not put the question. One blushes to set down the answer, and no doubt Arnold knows it as well or better than the rest of us. It costs money to run a political campaign and it costs money to publish a newspaper; and a trust is a big chunk of money. Its political pull, in Newtonian terms, will be proportionate to its economic mass. But Arnold's approach has never been that of the social physicist. His anthropologist's eye has been held by the surface oddities of our culture. His emphasis has been on the "folklore" of capitalism, on the divergence between our rhetoric and our realities rather than on the realities themselves. This may help to explain the lack of perspective revealed when Arnold writes of the Sherman Act as "a philosophy of industrial democracy" which "allows us to mobilize and demobilize our industrial combinations according to the actual necessities of the day." This is no longer folklore; this is escapist fiction. It is reflected in his discussion of the defense program. He notes the value of anti-trust enforcement in protecting defense against extortionate prices and dangerous restrictions on production, but not the enhanced power given the great industrial monopolies in the defense setup, and their use of this power to protect themselves against the anti-trust laws.

This inability to place the facts in their social framework is demonstrated in Arnold's attempt to defend his attack on the trade unions. He evades or misses the crucial issues. The Clayton Act exemption, which Arnold significantly fails to

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mention, may be obscure in law but had no obscure purpose in the dynamics of our society. Business combinations are generally bad; labor combinations are generally good, for the latter tend to redress the balance of forces in our economic life. The maximum penalties of the Sherman Act are a slap on the wrist for a big business, but the same penalties may be the death sentence of a labor union. To apply the law "equally" against both is to place the same burden on the pigmy and the giant. There are times when unions become the blackjacks of business combinations and merit no exemption from the anti-trust laws, but Arnold has not limited himself to those cases. He has sought to revive the pet precedents of reaction, and in the history of the anti-trust laws—so rich in irony—the trust-buster Arnold may seem a minor irritant to the monopolists, compensated for by his usefulness in fighting their battle against the trade unions.

I. F. STONE

Challenge to Liberals

FAITH FOR LIVING. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

FOR the past decade Lewis Mumford has been working on a comprehensive history of our culture which has already yielded two impressive volumes, "Technics and Civilization" and "The Culture of Cities." Given his convictions and the wide perspective which he has achieved on contemporary problems, it is right and proper that he should turn from his historical labors in moments of crisis and address his generation in tracts for the times. The first of these tracts, entitled "Men Must Act," was a vigorous call to arms against fascism. The political message of the present volume is no less urgent. "I have made no attempt," he declares, "to trim this argument to meet the objections of those who do not know that a thousand years separates 1940 from 1930. . . . I appeal only to those who realize that we Americans are already among the last stout survivors of a sinking ship." But the book deals in broader terms with the moral and cultural foundations of modern society. As he analyzes these, one is not so sure that Mr. Mumford regards Americans as "stout survivors." He sees the culture of modernity confused by all kinds of illusions, which make what is left of civilization tardy and ineffective in facing the threat of the new barbarians. "At the moment war became an absolute evil to most men," he declares, "it became an absolute good for the new barbarians; that conjuncture was to prove disastrous." I do not know how the whole spiritual problem of our day could be put more neatly.

The analysis of the moral and cultural problems of our society follows the general thesis of the essay The Corruption of Liberalism. Mr. Mumford's indictment of the culture which has informed the democratic world contains many specific charges, all of which are presented with such vigor and spiritual insight that one may hope they will carry conviction even to those who do not now know that a thousand years separate 1940 from 1930.

Mr. Mumford rightly recognizes isolationism as the political consequence of an attitude toward life which makes the mere preservation of physical existence into an absolute good and does not recognize that "a meaningful world extends beyond the incomplete personal life of the individual so that a life sacrificed at the right moment is a life well spent." The effort to evade decisions which may result in tragic consequences are attributed to a general deficiency in the tragic sense of life in modern culture. "Most of the sweetness and decorum of modern society rests upon a gentlemen's agreement to forget death and all its stark anticipations. . . . The pragmatic liberal's failure to confront, except in a hurried and shamefaced fashion, the essential facts of life and death has been responsible for much of the slippery thinking on the subject of war."

In curious and paradoxical relation to this tendency to place an undue premium upon the physical life of the individual is a moral purism which hesitates to preserve a culture or civilization because some absolute principle, absolute liberty or absolute rationality, must be sacrificed in the process of defense. "To be too virtuous to live is the characteristic moral perversion of liberalism."

The moods of cynicism and despair which grip modern society in moments of crisis, persuading it to make no defense of democracy because the last attempt resulted in disappointment and to hazard no sacrifices for a more just international order because the Treaty of Versailles failed to achieve justice, these moods are correctly attributed to the basic utopianism which informs modern culture. "Those who think that evil can be permanently abolished always feel themselves grossly betrayed when they find that it has come back again. They are like the heroine of the old-fashioned village melodrama whose innocence permits her to be seduced in every act."

The cult of rational objectivity, the "castration of the emotions," in modern culture represents the purity of death; it "leaves behind a foul odor as something that has long been dead." The liberal wants to use only reason and not force and does not understand "that if a neurotic patient is in a dangerously manic state one may have to put him in a lukewarm bath—and one must use force to put him there." He does not recognize the depths of malevolence to which collective human action may sink and is always making futile schemes to beguile the foe into complete rationality. Furthermore, he is afraid of being emotional or partisan himself. He wants to suspend judgment indefinitely and is terribly afraid that he might be aroused to hysteria or anger: "If one meets a poisonous snake in one's path two things are important for a *rational* reaction. One is to identify the snake as poisonous and the other is to have a prompt emotion of fear if the snake is poisonous; for fear starts the flow of adrenalin . . . and that will give the extra strength needed either to run or to attack."

One is tempted to quote at length from an analysis full of robust phrases expressing robust thoughts. The only difficulty with the analysis, which to the present writer seems true and convincing in all the specific indictments, is that an unconvincing distinction is made between an "ideal liberalism," which "commands the allegiance of all well-disposed people," and a "pragmatic liberalism," under which Mr. Mumford summarizes all the weaknesses of our modern culture. The difficulty with this distinction is that the ideal liberalism is only vaguely defined as containing "elements

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like the Roman conception of humanity, united in the pursuit of freedom and justice and embracing all races and conditions"; while all that is weak in liberalism is subsumed under the word "pragmatic." There are elements of relativism bordering on nihilism in modern culture which may be derived from the pragmatic spirit. But it is difficult to attribute the utopianism, perfectionism, and rationalism to this spirit. In attacking these Mr. Mumford is himself one of the relativists and pragmatists criticizing those who insert false absolutes into the relativities of history or who consider all historical reality inadequate because they find Nazi tyranny and an incomplete democracy falling equally short of their illusory absolute. If there is a lack of clarity here there is no lack of clarity or precision of thought in Mr. Mumford's analysis of the specific characteristics of modern culture.

It has become abundantly clear that spiritual confusion and inertia have made the democratic world both tardy and ineffective in meeting the peril of the new barbarians. Hardly any portion of the democratic world, with the possible exception of Czechoslovakia, which was overwhelmed by superior military strength, had not previously capitulated to the barbarians in heart and spirit. For that reason such books as Mr. Mumford's are as important as the political and military measures which are now being taken to constitute the remnant of the democratic world into a final bastion of civilization.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Back to 1932

THE REAL DANGER OF GOLD. By Harry Scherman. Simon and Schuster. $1.

NOT often does a book on economics rate almost a full-page advertisement in the New York *Times*. When we find one that does, we are justified in suspecting that it is either political propaganda or bad economics. To assume the latter in the case of "The Real Danger of Gold" would be a rank injustice to Mr. Scherman. For there can be no doubt that Mr. Scherman knows his economics, and, what is more uncommon, he has real ability in translating his knowledge into terms understandable to the ordinary reader. Gold is a technical, abstruse subject which has baffled the lay mind for many years despite countless efforts at simplification. Yet the average educated person will have no difficulty in reading this book, and unless he is something of an economist, he will pick up some useful information in the process. In attacking the myth that foreign countries may demonetize gold, thus causing it to lose its value, Mr. Scherman renders a real service to current popular thinking. He correctly points out that the scramble for gold was never more intense than at present, and that the high price set on it in all countries is ample evidence that no one seriously expects it to lose its value.

Mr. Scherman would probably deny hotly that his book is in any sense political. Yet it is one of the most effective bits of anti-New Deal propaganda that have yet appeared, and it was probably intended to be so. The "real danger" of gold, as Mr. Scherman sees it, is not that we have cornered 70 per cent of the world's supply, but that our huge reserve provides a standing inducement to politicians, presumably of the New Deal variety, to wipe out the rising government debt by a drastic devaluation which would lead to an inflation of catastrophic proportions. He argues that the "gold prohibition law," as he calls the New Deal law forbidding individuals to hold gold, is the root of our present difficulties. As a remedy, he suggests that the hoarding of gold by individuals be once more legalized. Hoarding, he declares, "is to be regarded as a priceless form of freedom—to protect citizens in the economic sphere, as theoretically we are protected by the Bill of Rights in another sphere, from an abuse of government power . . . with this citadel lost, the way is open and is soon taken by power-drunkards—as Russia, Italy, and Germany show—to filch away all . . . other freedoms."

This assault on the New Deal monetary policy may seem somewhat extreme, but it is fully consistent with what many orthodox economists have been saying for the past seven years. When expressed in the vocabulary of the academic economists, such criticism is harmless. It becomes dynamite, however, when set forth in plain English and given the mass circulation which Simon and Schuster are apparently trying to achieve for this book. And it is particularly dangerous because the book, as a whole, makes sense. Even Mr. Scherman's criticism of the ban against the circulation of gold is technically sound. What is not sound is the contention, never explicitly stated but strongly implied, that the present Administration is wholly incapable of handling such esoteric matters as monetary policy and that a sensible Administration would immediately reverse the steps taken in 1933-34. Scarcely a word is to be found regarding the economic collapse which forced the Administration to adopt these drastic measures; nor is there any recognition of their contribution to the recovery which has taken place. The considerable number of economists who hold that a controlled monetary system is more practicable than gold under present-day conditions are wholly ignored. The book ends with a plea to the "plain citizen" to work for a return to full convertibility of our paper money, and urges that the issue be put up squarely to both Presidential candidates. In view of the political significance of this book, it would, indeed, be interesting to have Mr. Willkie's reaction to the proposal.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

The Sheltered Life

WHEN THE BOUGH BREAKS. By Adeline Rumsey. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

THE opening lines of Miss Rumsey's novel yank your feet from under you like a flying tackle—

" 'The way that dress is draped,' Grace said, 'you really can't tell that you're expecting.'

"Julia's hands had been fumbling with her hair where it showed around the edges of her wedding veil . . ."

And there you are, whisked right into the middle of the story before you have settled comfortably in your chair. A story told with subdued, good-mannered flippancy, it nevertheless has a significant theme: the harm that results when a mother coddles her children too long, robbing them of self-dependence and resiliency, leaving them to discover the

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unpleasant facts of life by butting their heads against them in the dark. Mama Dearborn had always intended, of course, to teach her three daughters how to take care of themselves, but she kept putting it off—they were such a happy, cozy family, just the four of them, living comfortably on an annuity left by Papa, and there was lots of time. Then one day Mama had a stroke and died within the hour; their warm nest destroyed, the fledglings found themselves in mid-air without ever having really learned how to fly. Julia married a rich nonentity who made her very flesh crawl; Abby married for love, only to have it turn to ashes in the mouth when seasoned with the squalid cares and petty sacrifices of genteel poverty; Grace, the congenital old maid, made a life for herself, of a sort, but remained an easy mark for a myriad impositions, well-meant and otherwise. The bough having broken, the cradle fallen, all three of the girls found life a bewildering, heart-breaking maze, a table spread with empty plates, where it was always jam yesterday and jam tomorrow, but never jam today.

This bald statement of Miss Rumsey's thesis, however, belies the airy, almost Puckish humor with which she trots out her characters at various illustrative points in their maladjusted lives. Where many a novelist would relentlessly explore the somber labyrinths beneath the surface, she prefers to highlight the ludicrous antics of her people, in the Meredithian tradition of the comic spirit. Without the final chapter, in fact, three out of five readers might blithely pass over the serious implications of "When the Bough Breaks" and find it simply a vivacious story, delightfully told.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

The Facts on Arnold

THE POETRY OF MATTHEW ARNOLD: A COMMENTARY. By C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

THE fresh critical inspection of Arnold's poetry, long due, urgently relevant to the problems and values of modern verse, and apparently promised in the Messrs. Tinker and Lowry's title, does not in fact arrive with this volume. It consists of accounts of the sources, origin, growth, and explicit or personal references of each of Arnold's poems and was undertaken as a preliminary to the new complete edition promised for 1941. It amounts, despite a prefatory disclaimer, to a handbook for students, but even here its value is limited, since its circumstantial basis precludes not only the intrusion of a critical attitude but the business of elucidating the subtler and more abstruse parts of Arnold's text. Of criticism one gets little beyond the remark that the sonnet on the S.S. Lusitania is "inadequate" and that the first title of "The Better Part"—"Anti-Desperation"—was "ugly" but "perhaps more appropriate." Of inquiry into such matters as the identity of Marguerite or the image which Arnold found of himself in such men as Marcus Aurelius, Obermann, and Clough, there appears little more than stock comparisons and guardedly conventional hints. In the case of dramatic works like "Sohrab and Rustum," "Tristram and Iseult," and "Balder Dead," we are led carefully into the sources of Arnold's themes, his scholarly tact in adapting historical materials, and his conceptions of racial and cultural myth; in the notes on personal documents like "Resignation," "Rugby Chapel," and "Obermann Once More," we are given sketchy accounts of his moral and spiritual ordeals, his personal idealism, and his lifelong efforts in resisting the *mal de siècle* of his distracted age. These commentaries stop short of entry into the full context—verbal, formal, and psychological—of the poems concerned, and while they combine to form a more detailed instruction on the external conditions of Arnold's poetic processes than exists in any previous volume, the imperative step toward a serious aesthetic evaluation—ending where Arnold's poetic claims end, in an estimate of the poetic validity of what he wrote and in a knowledge of what his moral ideals and personal equipment amounted to there—is never attempted.

Arnold's type is preeminent today among the English talents of the nineteenth century because his sense of purpose and responsibility, of representative intelligence and critical self-consciousness, was the fullest possible anticipation of the plight of his twentieth-century followers. His poems stand in a framework of ideas and ambitions so winning in their sincerity, so persuasive in their awareness of the central facts of his moral personality and struggle, that as poems they have always been difficult to read on their own ground, apart from the props and appeals of his critical personality. Mr. Trilling's brilliant study has gone farther than any other book in situating Arnold fully in that framework, and while it fell short of defining fully the poetic virtue and weaknesses of Arnold's verse, it made preparations for that task with an acuteness and coherence that the present handbook does not approach. Arnold's poetic talent has become, indeed, an occasion for extremely ambiguous respect and evasion among critics. His kinship with modern poetic and critical realism is duly noted; his anticipation of the problems in Eliot's thought has been admitted by that poet himself; everyone allows that a revaluation of his poetry and its whole antecedent spiritual ordeal is overdue; but no one makes it.

The Messrs. Tinker and Lowry are engaged on a new edition of the complete verse; they have access at Yale to a stock of new manuscript materials; and they have worked on an almost official standing in collaboration with Arnold's family—all of which advantages have given their book its special authority and scrupulous documentary value but have also led to serious inhibitions in the matter of critical objectivity, of unorthodox latitude in approaching Arnold's thought, personality, successes, deficiencies, and agony. The result rests at the level of circumstantial and external fact, and seldom discovers the core of his art or even a conservative link between his unsteady motives as a poet and his intellectual and psychological growth. It is as difficult to isolate the aesthetic properties of Arnold's verse—and as courageous, since they would often fail to survive such isolation—as it is to read his verse without relying on his own continuous insistence on its personal references; but it is only when these two efforts begin to bear on the purely circumstantial or derivative matter in his poems that they will receive an adequate illumination and that Arnold will begin to take on his proper stature and import in his own time and in ours.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

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Life and Faith of Benes

"I BUILT A TEMPLE FOR PEACE." THE LIFE OF EDUARD BENES. By Edward B. Hitchcock. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

HITLER AND I. By Otto Strasser. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

NEMESIS? By Douglas Reed. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

MOST books about the European scene written before the collapse of France are, to say the least, out of date. But there are a few which have survived the cruel test of reality, and "I Built a Temple for Peace," the first complete biography of Eduard Benes, head of the Czechoslovak government in exile, is one of them. Though it was finished before the German armies invaded the Low Countries, not one word is made senseless by the present war situation. For this achievement alone, which is obviously not accidental, it would deserve wide attention.

This "Ker-r-l Benes" as Hitler called the President of Czechoslovakia in his speech at the Sportpalast before Munich, is the optimist of democracy in Europe. He always was and still is. This sounds rather banal, but if one follows the development of Benes, the son of a poor peasant who became the leader of his nation and six times president of the League of Nations, one is forced to recognize his consistency as a rare distinction. His biographer is very successful in making understood the philosophy which gave Benes faith and energy through all his years of trial, and so renewed that faith and energy, after his and Masaryk's life work had been destroyed, that he could begin all over again, as in 1914, the fight for the liberation of the Czech nation and for a federated Europe. Today, however,—and this is one of the forward steps in a Europe which seems only to march backward—the order of the objectives is reversed. In 1914 the liberation of small nations came first; today Benes seems to realize that a lasting liberation can be achieved only through the creation of a United States of Europe based on a new social order.

Not that this realization would be difficult for Benes. He was a European from the moment he went to France and England and Germany to study—his first degree, that of doctor of international law, he received from the University of Dijon. As Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia—a post which he held for nineteen years before he became President after Masaryk's resignation—he foresaw the necessity of unity among Europe's small nations if they wished to keep their liberty. He founded the Little Entente as a first step toward their closer organization; he fought for collective security at a time when this term had not yet the connotation of a collective sell-out to European fascism; he was the champion in Central Europe of the League of Nations. He fought for a truly democratic development in his own country and for the participation of its minorities in the Prague government. He achieved much; that he was powerless in the end was not his fault. Even if he, the born evolutionist, had known exactly what the future held in store he could not have acted very differently.

The politics of Eduard Benes and many of his little known personal characteristics are clearly revealed in Mr. Hitchcock's volume, which is a narrative rather than a critical analysis. The author accepts Benes's restraint, his "professorial" approach, his almost inhuman self-discipline without discussing the vices of these virtues. On the personal side he is most effective in unfolding the deep relationship which existed between Masaryk and Benes and that which has bound Benes since his student days to his wife, who is a remarkable person in her own right. I find myself unable to censure Mr. Hitchcock for giving us too few sparkling pages—Benes's life has been one long working day. Actors and charlatans may be more amusing than this professor, but I would rather be bored by him than excited by the others.

There is enough excitement in Otto Strasser's "Hitler and I." The book reads almost like pulp fiction, partly because it deals with Hitler, partly because its level is not much above Hitler. The author, once Hitler's *Kampfgenosse*, leader of the Black Front, a splinter group of National Socialism placing emphasis on a misunderstood socialism, is proud of his revolver and his readiness to shoot. His revelations, in so far as they remain factual, have a value similar to those of Lüdecke in "I Knew Hitler." Strasser shows Hitler at work building his party and establishing his supremacy, but he does not explain why this coward, this ignorant liar, was able to outsmart the Strasser brothers. Can it be that in spite of his shortcomings he was abler than they? I still remember the speech which Gregor Strasser, shot in the purge of June, 1934, made in the German Reichstag after Hitler's first great election victory. It was a miserable hodge-podge spiced with his master's phrase *"Es werden Köpfe rollen"* ("Heads will roll"). Now Otto Strasser is attempting to present his brother and himself as statesmen and to oppose their dilettante program, "Strasserism," to Hitlerism as Germany's, nay Europe's, salvation.

Among the few people who believe him is the English eccentric and anti-Semite, Douglas Reed, who has written in "Nemesis?" the story of Otto Strasser almost exactly as Otto Strasser tells it himself, accepting even his exaggerated self-esteem. Both books relate convincingly the interesting circumstances of Strasser's exodus from the Nazi Party in the summer of 1930. (Hermann Rauschning needed a few more years to find out who Hitler really was, as did many people of the right who would not believe such left critics of Hitler as Carl von Ossietsky.) Both books contain the tragic story of the radio engineer Formis who established a little broadcasting station in a lonesome inn in Czechoslovakia from which he spoke to Germany, against Hitler, every day. He was murdered by two Gestapo agents with the help of the usual blonde. The ease with which this murder was committed does not speak well for the efficiency of Strasser's organization; it was apparently full of spies—even Strasser's Jewish right-hand man turned out to be a Himmler agent. The intellectual confusion of Strasserism had its counterpart in action.

Reading the lives of Eduard Benes and Otto Strasser in quick succession is a revealing experience. One puts one's faith, despite odds, in Benes.

FRANZ HOELLERING

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IN BRIEF

SCIENCE AND WISDOM. By Jacques Maritain. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

The divorce of science and wisdom, or intuition, or common sense, has had unfortunate results even in the estimation of most scientists. The question is, however, what is wisdom? Jacques Maritain takes it for granted that it is Catholic theology, and undertakes to reconcile it with science in the manner of St. Thomas Aquinas. With all due respect, the result is hocus-pocus. M. Maritain would no doubt reply with an *argumentum ad hominem.*

A SPANISH TUDOR: THE LIFE OF "BLOODY MARY." By. H. F. M. Prescott. Columbia University Press. $5.

Real scholarship and good writing make this an outstanding book. Going to the sources, which she quotes copiously, the author presents a picture not so much sympathetic as understanding. Without condoning she turns a traditional monster into a tragic human being.

RICHELIEU: HIS RISE TO POWER. By Carl J. Burckhardt. Translated and Abridged by Edwin and Willa Muir. Oxford Press. $3.75.

This closely packed account of Richelieu's rise to undisputed power leaves him on the threshold of his work of establishing the European state system which has persisted with variations until now. Unrelieved by lightness of style or pointed generalizations, it will nevertheless repay the considerable effort of will required to read it even in the slightly abridged form of this admirable translation.

RECORDS

VICTOR has issued the third and concluding volume (M-691, $4.50) of Chopin's Mazurkas, which offers some fine examples of Chopin's writing in this genre, superbly played by Rubinstein. To a person who wanted only one volume I would recommend the second (M-656, $5), which I think has the finest group of the three.

Why all of Chopin's Mazurkas, all his Polonaises, all his Ballades and Scherzi, all his Etudes and Preludes, why entire operas of Mozart, the entire "Dichterliebe" song-cycle of Schumann, but only a selection of eleven songs from Schubert's great "Winterreise" cycle (M-692, $4)—that is one of the things you and I, whose minds are not the minds in record companies, cannot hope to understand. All we can do is swear at the minds in record companies and listen to the eleven songs on these records. And the first thing we hear is how much better Lotte Lehmann's voice is recorded than it was in her recent Hugo Wolf set—the only unpleasant sounds being the shrill ones she herself makes occasionally when emotions escape control. This tendency of hers spoils passages in "Die Post" and "Täuschung" and the end of "Die Krähe"; but most of the time the emotion is communicated through phrasing which makes some of the songs—"Die Nebensonnen," "Im Dorfe," Rückblick," "Der Wegweiser," "Das Wirtshaus"—unforgettable experiences.

These and the Wolf records gain by the work of Paul Ulanofsky at the piano. Listen to the mediocre playing on Lehmann's previous records, listen to the lifeless accompaniments, faintly recorded, on Elisabeth Schumann's records, and you will realize that there is too little appreciation by singers and recording managers of the fact that the musical thought of a song of Schubert, of Schumann, of Hugo Wolf is carried by the piano as well as the voice, that the song, in other words, is an integration of the vocal and piano parts, that this integration must be achieved in the performance, and that it can be achieved only by two good musicians—in short, that the piano part must be well played and clearly heard. Moreover, a Lehmann or an Elisabeth Schumann is enough of a musician to be unaffected by the inadequacy of what is being done at the piano; but other singers do not appreciate sufficiently how much is to be gained from working with a pianist of the caliber of Artur Balsam or Franz Rupp, and how much is lost by working with the accompanist who has nothing but facile fingers. Marian Anderson, for example, began with a beautiful voice and with musical feeling that might have been the basis for an impressive musicianship; but the years of artistic association with the increasingly anemic and rhythmically invertebrate Kosti Vehanen have left her an unexciting musician, and have brought her to the point where she can be guilty of the rhythmic slovenliness in her singing of the last phrase of "When I Am Laid in Earth" from Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas," on her latest Victor record (17257, $1). The voice is beautiful and moving; and the lively and rhythmically more incisive "Se Florindo è Fidele" of Alessandro Scarlatti on the reverse side goes better. (At her last Carnegie Hall recital, however, the voice was threadbare and had a strong vibrato. This was due partly to the fatigue of the season's ninety or a hundred concerts, which represented her manager's lack of conscience and her own lack of good sense. But some who know more about the mechanics of singing than I do have pointed out to me on records evidence of faulty use of the voice, which would produce the signs of fatigue or impairment that I heard at the recital. And I might add that they have pointed out similar evidence of insufficient schooling on the records of Dorothy Maynor.)

Haydn's Clavier Concerto Opus 21 is a lesser work of Haydn, but charming. A previous Columbia recording offered a fine performance of the solo part on the piano by Mme Roesgen-Champion; the new Victor set (M-471, $3.50) offers the sparkle and brilliance of Landowska's performance on the harpsichord with a little orchestra under Bigot. Other Victor releases include Beethoven's Opus 18 No. 4, in a musically and technically finished performance by the Coolidge String Quartet, excellently recorded (M-696, $3.50); Handel's Organ Concerto Opus 7 No. 5, with E. Power Biggs as usual playing all the notes as though none of them were more important than any others, and Fiedler's Sinfonietta as usual sounding unpleasantly sharp (2099, $.75); the uninteresting Vivaldi Sonata in C minor, well recorded by Blot and Crussard (13484, $1); some finely wrought music for the organ by Franck—the Pastorale Opus 19, the Chorale No. 3, part of the Chorale No. 1—and his Pièce Héroique, played well enough for me by Charles Courboin, and well recorded (M-695, $4.50); and a new set of Brahms's Second Symphony that I will discuss next time.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Norway Under the Nazis

[We print below excerpts from a letter written to a friend in this country by a Norwegian American who has been in Oslo since before the German invasion. The letter was sent by a method not subject to censorship.]

Dear A———: More dramatic events elsewhere have shifted the world's attention from us here in the north, and we have settled down, like so many other people, to the task of waiting. There is still plenty of food, our masters allow us the doubtful privilege of listening to the discouraging news over the British radio, and most of the young men who went out to face the most ruthless military machine in history, without adequate weapons and with traitors and worthless allies at their backs, have trickled back to town, miraculously alive. But we are still beset by anxiety and despair and the bitter memories of happier days.

Here in Oslo, and we hear elsewhere, the German troops have behaved admirably, but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel, and to those of my Norwegian friends who see more than the surface of things the seeming kindness of the Germans is terrifying. I used to think, like all Americans, that German propaganda was incredibly stupid and could work only on such congenitally gullible people as the Germans. I take that all back. With fiendish ingenuity the Germans are preparing the ground for the Nazification of Norway. Their first step was to throw people off guard by the painfully correct behavior of the troops in all the occupied territory. The next was to salve the Norwegians' wounded pride by getting rid of Quisling, who proved himself utterly incapable of running the country even with the backing of machine-guns and the Gestapo. The Norwegian prisoners of war were freed, and Hitler himself praised the Norwegians for behaving toward wounded and prisoners like decent human beings. Göring even intervened personally to protect the Viking ships in the museum near Oslo—memorials of the "heroic age" of the ancient Teutons. And then, little by little, the campaign to undermine the people's faith in democratic institutions and all that Norway has stood for began.

The captive newspapers are allowed to rail as much as they like against the Labor government for its unpreparedness, but nobody is allowed to point out that it was not unpreparedness but the treachery of the professional army officers that let the German ships slip through the impregnable fortresses along the coast. Norway had deliberately chosen to raise the poorest nation in Europe to the highest standard of living in the world rather than to arm to the teeth, and the professional military turned traitors rather than have their privileges taken from them.

Or take the way in which "emergency committees for the occupied areas" are supplanting all elective governing agencies. I have nothing but the highest respect for Rector Seip of the university and the other members of the Administrative Council which has assumed responsibility for law and order and getting the wheels going. They are working heroically at a thankless task and have done a remarkable job of reorganizing the economy of southern Norway and of preserving as much as possible of civil liberty. None of them are ambitious for power and all regard their position as one of trust, but we are subject to a steady campaign of propaganda which points out how much more efficient such a committee of experts is than the old parliamentary system; and several men not on the Administrative Council are being built up for the job Quisling was unable to handle, when the time is ripe to shove the honorable men of the Administrative Council aside.

Persecution of the Jews is being done subtly, at first. So far it has consisted in confiscating the radios of the few hundred Jews in Oslo. Nothing brutal or barbarous as yet—people are still too easily shocked by such things; just enough persecution now to make people aware that there are about two thousand Jews in Norway. There will be time for real persecution later on, when the reserves of food are used up and the laboring class gets restless and needs another scapegoat.

All the while the Germans are taking great pains not to hurt the national pride of a people who, according to German theory, ought to be as rabid Nazis as themselves. Every day the people are reassured that Norway will be given back its independence just as soon as England is liquidated. The German daily published for the troops in Oslo is full of articles on Norwegian art, music, and literature and the beauties of the Norwegian landscape. But there's just a chance that here the Germans have slipped up. For national pride may lead in one nation to swashbuckling militarism and the subordination of all individual rights to the all-powerful state, but in another—among a people whose cultural heritage is not like that of Prussia—it may lead to a different concept of the state. The national heroes of Norway are men like Ibsen and Bjornsen and Frithjof Nansen, not Friedrich der Grosse.

There has been an Ibsen revival since war broke in—as they say here in Oslo—and the other night I went to the National Theater to see "The Pillars of Society." I never realized before how much dynamite old Henrik Ibsen still has. The whole point of the play, that a society cannot be built upon rottenness and trickery and lies and that those things cannot be justified on the ground that they are necessary to make things easier for the next generation, is a blow at the very foundations of Nazi ideology.

F. D.

Oslo, July 15

Prisoner of the Dutch

Dear Sirs: The New York *Times* of July 20 and 26 carried a notice concerning the "unavoidable reprisals" announced by the German authorities against the Dutch people because of the "alleged mistreatment" of German subjects in the Netherlands Indies and West Indies. I was a prisoner in the Dutch concentration camp of Bonaire, Netherlands West Indies, the only one so far to be released. I also know what camps on the other side are like—I was imprisoned for a month in Viennese jails and my father was six months in the Buchenwald camp. I think, therefore, that I can give you a fair picture of the "alleged mistreatment."

There are three camps in Bonaire, one for the male inhabitants of Curaçao and Aruba, one for the women and children, and one for the sailors of German ships. The buildings used are not barracks but schools, with airy big rooms and plenty of space in front. It is true that at first we felt we had a

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grievance in the matter of food and hygienic conditions. The food during the first days consisted only of bread with cheese or sardines, and tea. The toilets were inadequate because they were originally intended for children, and, what is bad in a tropical climate, there was no possibility of taking a bath.

But no one could have said that the government did not make every effort to improve these conditions. After one week we had built our own kitchen, with all possible assistance by the authorities, and the ships' cooks cooked our food. Except for such necessary work as cleaning rooms, peeling potatoes, or bringing provisions from arriving ships, nobody was forced to do any hard labor. Once, upon military request, a few of our men were ordered to build two small houses at the airport, but the work was stopped upon our complaint that we were only civil prisoners. Would prisoners in a German camp ever have dared to complain?

Of course, not all German subjects are in the concentration camp. Those who for years abused Netherlands hospitality by working against the government are still in custody in Curaçao, but instead of being tormented and tortured, they will be tried with law and justice.

S. R.

New York, September 5

Pragmatism or Idealism?

Dear Sirs: Max Lerner's article on The Attitude of the Intellectuals, the second in his series on The War as Revolution, is confused by his condemnation of pragmatism while he seems to be a pragmatist. There is no incompatibility, such as he suggests, between pragmatism and idealism in the popular sense; and they are not opposed in the technical sense in so far as pragmatism derives from idealism and assigns a directive role to thought. So those who have been idealists while behaving pragmatically are not necessarily sheep in wolves' clothing, as he implies.

If Wilsonians swam with the current to retain some influence, Mr. Lerner apparently for the same purpose urges intellectuals to plunge into the struggle for state power, believing this to be the main stream of our day. He blames the Wilson group for pragmatically trying to manipulate the forces of history, yet at the same time advocates action which he hopes will be historically decisive.

The paragraph beginning, "But the intellectuals cannot help to control the present or shape the future by clinging to the past," is pure pragmatism. The same may be said of his stated goal of "socialism in economics, democracy in politics, planning in administration, humanism in culture." Especially pragmatic is the notion of ideas as instruments. Why does Mr. Lerner reproach John Dewey for momentary silence, the man from whom this eloquence might have been borrowed?

VAN METER AMES

Pentwater, Mich., August 25

The Way to Win

Dear Sirs: Wars are not won by waiting for the enemy to attack. They are won through the fullest possible mobilization of a nation's resources, through suitable alliances, and through well-timed and well-planned offensive action.

"Hemisphere defense" and "all aid short of war" will not defend America. Immediate belligerent participation with all our resources in association with Great Britain is the only policy which will secure America by destroying its avowed enemies.

Hitler's destruction is America's security.

MAX SCHNITZER

Brooklyn, September 6

The Sculptors' Guild

Dear Sirs: In your issue of August 24 Charmion von Wiegand refers to the Sculptors' Guild as an affiliate of the A. F. of L. and as part of the United Scenic Artists. The Sculptors' Guild has no such connection, inasmuch as it is not a labor organization. It was created for the purpose of increasing the public's interest in progressive sculpture. Its current exhibition in the pavilion of American Art Today at the World's Fair is an example of its methods of enabling the public to see modern sculpture.

DOROTHEA S. GREENNBAUM,
Secretary

New York, September 6

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